The Nation.

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The Week.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S proclamations are the voice of the nation declaring that the law must be maintained, and that all persons who set themselves against it will be swept out of the way, and out of existence if need be. It is probably useless to expect that the proclamations will keep all idlers out of danger, but those who put themselves in the line of fire hereafter will do so at their own peril.

President Cleveland's method of dealing with Gov. Altgeld is a model one. He wastes no time in arguing with him, or in defending himself against his attacks, but in a few terse sentences sets him before the country in his true light as the friend and champion of disorder. Altgeld is probably as unconscious of his own bad manners as he is of the bad odor of his own principles; but boorish, impudent, and ignorant as he is, he can scarcely fail to wince under the treatment which he receives from the President. He is probably unable to comprehend that what gives the President's words their crushing weight is the fact that American public opinion is in a solid mass behind them. The President is speaking for the American people and for the preservation of their Government, and his words are suitable to the case. Altgeld's tirades are serving the useful purpose of showing to the people, not only of Illinois, but of all other States, the folly of putting the administration of public affairs into the hands of professional blatherskites, who are either too ignorant or too unprincipled to conduct themselves in accordance with the spirit of American institutions.

A disheartening aspect of this troublous time is the cowardice of Congressmen at Washington. A few Senators have spoken out like men, but it has been impossible to get a positive expression of opinion from any Representative of standing. While the respectable press of the country is a unit in applauding and sustaining the President, and while the great mass of the people are delighted and relieved at his firm attitude, Congress sits by shamefaced and cowering. The only resolutions introduced are the firebrands of Populists, and it is only the rule requiring their reference to a committee which saves us from incendiary speeches by our lawmakers. If Congress had any men left in it it would have passed before this a joint resolution holding up the hands of the President and rebuking and warning anarchists. But the anarchists have votes, and the most valiant Congressman, who remembers that election day is only four months off, runs away from the interviewer in a fright. This is not only contemptible but senseless. It takes a purblind demagogue, in the Washington haze which always distorts popular opinion, to think for a moment that there is a vote to be gained by anybody in crawling before the anarchists. Everybody with the cobwebs out of his eyes sees that the men who are not afraid, like Senator Davis and the President himself, are the men whom this nation delights to honor, and that there never was so much public contempt for the trimmer who haws and hums and dodges when a national crisis comes.

The dearth of convictions and courage among our public men has enabled Senator Davis of Minnesota to reach fame and popular approval at a bound. He has simply done his duty and told the truth; but it is so long since anybody at Washington has had, or dared to avow, a clean-cut belief on any important subject, that his action takes on almost an heroic quality. Especially is it so long since any one holding an elective office in this country has ventured to resent the orders of a demagogue labor leader with votes behind him, that Mr. Davis's dash of cold water into the face of that portentous person, "President of 209 A. R. U.," is as grateful a surprise as a northwest breeze with the mercury at 92. It is a pleasure to reprint his direct and pungent words:

"I have received your telegram. I will not support Senator Kyle's resolution. It is against your own real welfare. It is also a blow at the security, peace, and rights of millions of people who never harmed you or your associates. My duty to the Constitution and the laws forbids me to sustain a resolution to legalize lawlessness. The same duty rests upon yourself and your associates. The power to regulate commerce among the several States is vested by the Constitution in Congress. Your associates have usurped that power by force at Hammond and other places and have destroyed commerce between the States in these particular instances. You are rapidly approaching the overt act of levying war against the United States, and you will find the definition of that act in the Constitution. I trust that wiser thoughts will regain control. You might as well ask me to vote to dissolve this government."

Out of a Senate where Republican Sherman and Democratic Call are vying with Populist Kyle in kneeling to rioters and beclouding the issue, such language comes with double effect. It not only shuts the mouth of the man to whom it was addressed, but it is a standing rebuke to the supine or truckling colleagues of the man who was not afraid to speak. We could hope that it marks the beginning of a new era, or, rather, a return to an old one, when Senators shall again have positive opinions and again have the courage to declare them.

A noteworthy feature of the situation is the hearty support which the federal executive receives from that part of the country where the State-rights theory was once carried to absurd lengths. The *Herald* has been interviewing the Governors of many States, and the most significant deliverance is the one from Gov. Stone of Mississippi:

"This is a species of lawlessness that should and must be suppressed. I heartily approve the President's proclamation, and believe federal troops should be used to protect the lives and property of citizens of the United States in every instance where it is necessary."

That the Governor represents public sentiment in that latitude is shown by the declaration of the Vicksburg *Commercial Herald* that "the South will be solid for law and order and the national government." When the Governor and the people of Jefferson Davis's old State thus sustain the President of the Union, it is made clear that the spirit of nationality has taken possession of the whole country.

It is an interesting circumstance that one of the federal officials who have come into collision with one of the mob governors is an ex-Confederate. Gen. "Jo" Shelby, who won his title by fighting to overthrow the federal government thirty years ago, is now United States marshal for the Missouri district. In that capacity he despatched a posse of deputies to the place where a lot of Debsites had seized a mail train, to release the train and preserve the peace. Gov. Stone, who seems ambitious of enrolling himself with Altgeld, Lewelling, Pennoyer, and Waite, immediately sent a protest against the marshal's action as a bit of impertinence and an unwarranted interference with the authority of the State of Missouri. Gen. Shelby promptly replied that he was acting for and under the instructions of the United States Government, and he informed the Governor that if he desired any additional particulars, he should make application to the attorney-general at Washington; meanwhile he (Shelby) would continue to do his duty under the laws. The Governor concluded to content himself with "criticising" the attitude of the federal authorities.

"It is the unexpected that happens." Looking back ten or fifteen years, we behold an enterprise started in the vicinity of Chicago peculiarly in the interest of working men. It was not a charitable institution—quite the contrary. If it had been such it would have failed from the start, since it

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appealed specially to independent, intelligent, self-respecting men—men who scorn to accept anything that they have not earned. It was Mr. Pullman's aim to offer to this class of men superior accommodations and more of the comforts of life than they could obtain elsewhere for the same amount of expenditure, but to do this in a scientific and business-like manner, so that the investment should pay its own way and every tub stand on its own bottom. Gratitude was not looked for. In fact, it was not called for under the circumstances, but it was expected that the men drawn together by the superior civilization of the town of Pullman would be of too high an order of intelligence to insist, for example, that the company should build cars at less than actual cost, when the new dollars taken in would not replace the old ones paid out, or to refuse to examine the company's books to determine the facts of the case. Of all the things that might be expected to happen, this was the last. If the Pullman shops had simply been closed, as those at Detroit were, nothing would have ensued. There would have been no strike, as there was none at Detroit. But because the Detroit shops were closed in order that the Pullman shops might run a little longer at some rate of wages, the men at Pullman struck, and then the followers of Debs struck all the way to California. Nothing more unexpected could have happened.

It is an astonishing revelation that Debs, the manager of the strike, was under treatment for dipsomania two years ago, and that it is a question whether he is at present entirely sane. The physician who treated him then says he was suffering from alcoholism in its worst form, and was a physical and mental wreck. He says that he telegraphed to Debs a few days ago imploring him to stop, as the condition of his nervous system made him irresponsible for his own orders. That a man of this physical and mental condition should be able to paralyze great railway systems, and throw several States into such a condition of anarchy that the President of the United States has to concentrate the regular army at the centre of disturbance, and issue proclamations for the suppression of rioting, is certainly the most extraordinary development of the labor problem that the world has yet seen. It puts this country before the world as the sport of lunatics and madmen, and shows us what we shall come to if we continue to allow State governorships to be filled with Altgelds, Lewellings, Pennoyers, Waites, Stones, and McConnells. Popular institutions cannot long stand the strain of such bouffe government as these creatures give us.

One element in bringing Debs and his American Railway Union to their present dictatorial attitude is not clearly understood at the East. It will be remembered that a strike occurred on the Great Northern Railroad a few weeks ago, and was amicably settled through the efforts of a committee of St. Paul and Minneapolis business men. An incident which followed this settlement did not attract the attention which it deserved. The president of the railroad held that it was not bound to reinstate in its employ men who were found guilty of any criminal offence against the United States, who had maliciously injured the company's property, or who had placed the lives of passengers or the property of the company in danger by abandoning trains. The question was submitted to the arbitrators, who decided that the agreement bound the road to reinstate and pay men then under arrest and awaiting trial on the charge of malicious destruction of property, men who had interfered with the running of trains, and men who had abandoned trains in inacessible places. This was the same thing as saying that the railroad could exert no discipline over its employees, and it was entirely natural that Debs should think himself warranted in ordering railroads not to run Pullman cars when a committee of business men in St. Paul and Minneapolis had given such encouragement to the notion that employees might manage the property as they chose.

California has been going through a long training in theoretical anarchism—so long and so thorough that the Portland *Oregonian* considers anarchism one of the planks of the Republican platform in that State. Now practical anarchism has come. The State is in the hands of mobs at Oakland, Sacramento, and Los Angeles, and when the militia are called out to enforce the law, they side with the rioters and throw down their arms. Logically they ought to do so because, if the mobs are simply seeking to enforce their rights, as the newspapers of San Francisco imply, why should the militia become the instruments of tyranny to fasten the chains of a Pullman despotism on them? We can see no way to improve the education of the Slopers but to leave them in the hands of their pets and favorites. Probably a month will suffice to put courage into the breasts of the decent people, who outnumber the Sand-lotters and other anarchists by five to one, and nerve them to fight for *their* rights. Something of this kind occurred at Portland, Oregon, a few years ago when that city was under the domination of an anti-Chinese mob. The decent people were at last driven to the necessity of arming themselves and organizing to enforce the law. They did so, and within twenty-four hours the mob had dispersed. Not a shot was fired. California needs a similar demonstration.

The overthrow of Populism in Kansas seems assured by the decision of the Democrats to run a "straight" ticket this year. In 1892 they "fused" with the Populists, and the two parties polled 163,507 votes for Lewelling, as against 158,075 for the Republican candidate. The fusion policy was opposed at that time by some of the wisest leaders among the Democrats, but the argument that such a combination might take the electoral votes of the State from Harrison prevailed with the mass of the party. Now, however, Democrats are as much disgusted as Republicans with the record of the Populist State administration; and with their vote generally cast for their own ticket, Lewelling can stand no chance of reëlection.

Prof. George Herron of Iowa College, whose anarchistic teachings were so properly rebuked by the Governor of Nebraska at the commencement of the University in the latter State a few weeks ago, has been holding, with B. Fay Mills, the evangelist, the Rev. Thomas C. Hall of Chicago, and other congenial spirits, what is described as "a sociological love feast" at Grinnell, the seat of the college. Its character may be inferred from the fact that one of the speakers made a plea for greater leniency for anarchists: "He would convict them and send them out in the world with a sort of legal blessing and a theological admonition to go and sin no more." The Iowa newspapers naturally and justly denounce such teachings as abominable and dangerous. The Sioux City *Journal*, by the way, notes that although these sociologists demand the abolishment of rent and interest as now understood, "Prof. Herron still enjoys the interest of his $35,000 endowment, and Brother Hall lately left a $4,000 place for an $8,000 one, and Mr. Mills is, with the single exception of Mr. Moody, probably the best-paid evangelist in the world."

Everybody sighed with relief on hearing that the Senate had at last actually voted on the tariff; but both the Senate and the bill are much the worse for having kept company for five months. The Senate has made a new record for itself in the way of stupid incapacity, and this time with a suspicion of personal corruption freely thrown in, while the bill enjoys to the full the Scriptural blessing of being ill spoken of by all men. This is largely, to be sure, a matter of comparison and of wasted opportunity. The bill as it stands would have been considered by tariff-reformers a few years ago as almost too good to be possible. It provides for

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free wool and free lumber, and cuts many of the worst McKinley duties in two. But in comparison with what the Senate might easily have done, even in comparison with what the House did, the outcome is so poor, so scarred by personal intrigue and surrender of principle and decency, that its bad features justly hold the first place in the public estimation. It now rests with the House to save for the Democratic party even the appearance of consistency and honesty.

The question how long a time need elapse before the final enactment of the measure into law is now of general interest. Some idea of the period necessary may perhaps be derived from the history of the McKinley bill in its later stages. It was on the 10th of September, 1890, that the bill passed the Senate, having passed the House on the 21st of the previous May. Having lain one day on the Speaker's table, it was referred to the ways and means committee September 12. On the 15th, Mr. McKinley reported it back from that committee with a recommendation for non-concurrence in the Senate amendments, and it went to the committee of the whole. Consideration of the Senate amendments was limited to one day, so that the bill was reported to the House and a conference with the Senate ordered September 16. The work of the conference committee occupied ten days, and the result was reported on September 26 to the House, which next day agreed to the changes recommended and took a final vote on the passage of the bill. The bill as agreed to by the conference committee was reported to the Senate September 29 and passed by that body the next day. Three weeks, therefore, covered the period of conferences, compromises, and final details. A week more may now be allowed, and the work be completed by about the 1st of August.

Chairman Wilson's speech on Saturday, in moving to non-concur in the Senate amendments to the tariff bill, was quiet and dignified in tone, but indicated with unmistakable clearness his intention to stand firmly for the main features of the House bill. What these are he left it not at all uncertain. They are free raw materials and ad-valorem taxes. Many of the Senate's swarm of amendments are, as Mr. Wilson admitted, unimportant; but those which take raw materials off the free list and which slip in tricky specific duties at so many points to befog the taxpayer and benefit the manufacturer, are a betrayal of party and a surrender of principle. Chairman Wilson was well within the truth in saying that the bill as it passed the House was more conservative than the sentiment of the party and the country warranted and demanded. To give up any essential part of that now would be to lose, and to deserve to lose, what little respect the party has left it. The House conferees cannot be too exigent and unyielding in their demands on the Senate. They ought to keep constantly in mind that what they have to fight is really a small clique of distrusted and discredited Democratic Senators. The majority of the Senate saw fit to give in to this band of "strikers," but it is to be hoped that the House will hold a higher tone with the Gormanites. They will surrender at discretion if met in open warfare.

Ex-Speaker Reed can scarcely expect the public to take his grief seriously at not being invited in by the Democratic conferees on the tariff. No one is so responsible as he for the doctrine that it is a stupid and needless formality for the majority to concede anything to the minority except the right to protest and vote against the decision of the majority. There is no doubt that the pretence of a different practice before Reed's speakership was mostly a polite fiction. But it was polite, and might have lasted to this day had not he, with brutal frankness, disowned and spurned the whole thing. The Democrats are only giving him a dose of the medicine which he himself concocted, made a little more bitter, of course, as time and their own ingenuity have taught them how to do so; and there is no occasion for his wry faces over it. In fact, any one looking closely will see that his wry face is really only his customary sardonic and cynical wink.

The signs multiply that the struggle between the Senate and the House of Representatives will turn upon the sugar duty. If the report of the *World's* correspondent is to be trusted, the number of Representatives who are willing to declare in advance that they will resist the Senate's amendments is no less than 200 out of the 253 who responded to the inquiry. It is to be observed, however, that nearly all the members of the ways and means committee refuse to commit themselves, and that many of those who reject the Senate's amendments indicate some willingness to accept modifications of the schedule as it passed the House. It is also to be observed that of those who refuse to commit themselves, 41 are Democrats, while the opponents of the Senate's schedule include 78 Republicans and 7 Populists. Moreover, if the replies of the respective members are read in detail, a general disposition is apparent to accept the recommendations of the conference committee. It seems probable, therefore, that whatever is agreed upon in conference will be accepted by the House of Representatives.

The comparative statement of the receipts and expenditures of the United States Government for the fiscal years ending with the month of June, 1893 and 1894, has been issued with great promptness by the Treasury Department. It shows an excess of expenditures over receipts for the year just ended of close upon $70,000,000. It should be borne in mind that during the previous year the balance in favor of the Government was but little over $2,000,000, so that the financial position was precarious even before the hard times began to be felt. The actual diminution of revenue was about $89,000,000, the decrease of expenditures being only between $17,000,000 and $18,000,000. Nearly the whole of the loss of revenue was due to the shrinkage in customs receipts, which amounted to about $71,000,000, or more than the deficit. The loss of internal revenue was only about $14,000,000, and during June revenue of this kind was materially greater than during the corresponding month of 1893. On the side of economy there is almost nothing to show except the saving in pensions, which amounts to over $18,000,000. The coming year should show a very marked decrease of expenditure in several directions, so that, even if business did not improve, the deficit would be far smaller.

But the decrease in customs receipts is to a great extent due, not to business depression, but to anticipated tariff changes. It would not be unreasonable to consider that part of the shrinkage in customs receipts due to the panic as the same percentage of the whole as the entire shrinkage in internal-revenue receipts. That is, the falling off of internal revenue being about 10 per cent., the falling off in customs receipts, had no reduction of duties been anticipated, would have been the same, or about $20,000,000, instead of $71,000,000. This loss of revenue was partly inevitable, since in hardly any condition of business would importations go on to any extent in the face of an impending reduction of duties. But it is principally due to the procrastination of Congress. For nearly two years it has been known that duties were to be reduced; and for all that time importers have been obliged to do business from hand to mouth. Had Congress acted promptly, it is very doubtful if the present year would have closed with any deficit at all. This is one of the incidental expenses of state action which the socialists fail to consider, but which make even existing governments a serious burden to industry. Should the tariff bill be passed with the proposed duty upon sugar and with the tax upon incomes, it is highly probable that the close of the present fiscal year will see the Government encumbered, not with a deficit, but with a surplus.

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THE NATION AND THE NEW SLAVERY.

THE assertion of the national authority during the past week to repress disorder and lawlessness which were fast becoming a national peril, has many analogies with its assertion in 1861. Now, as then, an evil which has been long tolerated or impatiently endured, and left to local authorities to dispose of as they saw fit, has at last become so defiant and menacing, so evidently destructive of all law and government, that the instinct of self-preservation is aroused to grapple with it. There can be but one supreme power in this country. It is either the nation or a band of boycotters, just as, in 1861, it was the nation or a band of slaveholders. When that issue becomes clear and sharp, it is time for the Government to summon its last man and spend its last dollar in a fight for its own life, or else commit suicide in despair.

The boycott's blow at the life of the nation has not been struck with such dramatic effect as slavery's blow, but it is just as deadly in its aim. The contention that the entire industry of the land can be wielded as a club to compel any man or corporation to surrender a single right or a single dollar, means the setting up of a new government All the raging of all the demagogues cannot obscure that. If an individual employer has been unjust or a corporation tyrannous, that is an evil for which its own and legal remedy must be sought. To take the whole country by the throat, to defy municipal and State officers, is simply the levying of public war to redress a private grievance. It has taken the nation a long time to wake up to this, but it has waked up at last, and the determination of the Washington authorities to use every rifle under their control before giving up the attempt to enforce the laws is as truly patriotic a resolution, and as truly essential to the continued life of the Government, as was the call of Lincoln for volunteers when Sumter fell.

The insidious attack of labor-unions on the power of the Government, with the boycott and a universal sympathetic strike as weapons, also has its instructive analogies with the assault of slavery upon the national life. This reckless and militant trades-unionism deserves, in fact, to be called the slavery of our day. It holds men in a bondage as absolute and humiliating as any system of slavery ever known. Their judgment and rights are, for the autocrat who gives them their orders, non-existent. Some of them beg him to be allowed to go back to work, to earn bread for their wives and children, but he lashes them back into idleness and hunger with the true insolence of a slave-driver. The cruelty of this new slavery is likewise characteristic. Its dupes it wantonly leaves to suffering, and against its victims it rages with the heartlessness of a savage. While crying to heaven against the oppression of employers, it subjects delicate women and helpless and innocent children to discomforts and dangers in a way to bring a blush to the cheek of a Zulu.

For many years this evil has been strengthening itself and growing more offensive and threatening, and for years, just as in the case of slavery, it has had its advocates, its apologists; many have been alarmed at its growth, some have foreseen the disasters wrapped up in it, but nearly all have acquiesced in the view that it would have to be dealt with by local authorities. But now what has all along been latent in the new slavery has become evident to all. It stands unmasked as an avowed contestant for national supremacy, and the swift return stroke from the national authority marks the consciousness, on both sides, of the true nature of the struggle. All this is fairly comparable to that other attack on the Government which it took four years of bloody war to crush.

The course of events during the past fortnight explains how writers like Mulford and Green could speak of the organic life of the nation as something distinct from its institutions. There does seem to be something like a vital process in the way the nation becomes conscious of a peril to its life and rouses itself to meet it. It is not simply that the great strike and boycott are attended with violence. As we write, the disorder has not been nearly so great as that evoked by the coal strike a few weeks ago. Nor is it alone the fact that there is a national humiliation in such disregard of law. There was a deep national humiliation in the New Orleans massacre of Italians and in the slaughter of Chinese in Oregon. But none of these occurrences stung the Government into an assertion of its authority conterminous with the territory and the property and lives under its jurisdiction. That it has now made it is because it sees that an *imperium in imperio*, or rather *imperium contra imperium*, such as the boycotters are trying to set up, means its own dissolution.

GOV. ALTGELD AND THE PRESIDENT.

IT should surprise nobody that Governor Altgeld of Illinois came to the rescue of Debs and his fellow law-breakers by protesting against the efforts of the federal authorities to restore order in Chicago. He is the executive who pardoned the anarchists out of prison, and it is only natural that he should sympathize with anarchists who have not yet been sent to prison.

The long despatch which Altgeld sent the President is chiefly devoted to a defence of the strikers, and an exposition of their attitude as defined by Debs. His misrepresentation of the facts is so obvious and clear that it needs no attention. The only argument advanced by the Governor which deserves any examination is his plea that the President is disregarding local self-government in sending federal troops without being requested so to do by the executive of the State. Upon this point he says:

"I submit that local self-government is a fundamental principle of our Constitution. Each community shall govern itself so long as it can and is ready and able to enforce the law; and it is in harmony with this fundamental principle that the statute authorizing the President to send troops into States must be construed. Especially is this so in matters relating to the exercise of police power and the preservation of law and order.

"The question of federal supremacy is in no way involved. No one disputes it for a moment; but under our Constitution federal supremacy and local self-government must go hand in hand, and to ignore the latter is to do violence to the Constitution."

The President's reply is brief, but comprehensive. It meets the Governor's arguments, and covers the whole ground in two sentences, as follows:

"Federal troops were sent to Chicago in strict accordance with the Constitution and laws of the United States, upon the demand of the Post-office Department that obstruction of the mails should be removed, and upon the representations of the judicial officers of the United States that process of the federal courts could not be executed through the ordinary means, and upon abundant proof that conspiracies existed against commerce between the States. To meet these conditions, which are clearly within the province of federal authority, the presence of federal troops in the city of Chicago was deemed not only proper but necessary, and there has been no intention of thereby interfering with the plain duty of the local authorities to preserve the peace of the city."

The authority under which the President acts is derived from section 5298 of the Revised Statutes, enacted July 29, 1891, and section 5299, which became a law April 20, 1871. The former provides that "whenever, by reason of unlawful obstructions, combinations, or assemblages of persons, or rebellion against the authority of the Government of the United States, it shall become impracticable, *in the judgment of the President*, to enforce, by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, the laws of the United States within any State or Territory, it shall be lawful for the President to call forth the militia of any or all the States, and *to employ such parts of the land and naval forces of the United States as he may deem necessary* to enforce the faithful execution of the laws of the United States, or to suppress such rebellion, in whatever State or Territory thereof the laws of the United States may be forcibly opposed, or the execution thereof forcibly obstructed." Section 5299 is as follows:

"Whenever insurrection, domestic violence, unlawful combinations, or conspiracies in any State so obstructs or hinders the execution of the laws thereof, and of the United States, as to deprive any portion or class of the people of such State of any of the rights, privileges, or immunities, or protection, named in the Constitution and secured by the laws for the protection of such rights, privileges, or immunities, and *the constituted authorities of such State are unable to protect, or, from any cause, fail in or refuse protection of the people in such rights*, such facts shall be deemed a denial by such State of the equal protection of the laws to which they are entitled under the Constitution of the United States; and in all such cases, or when-

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ever any such insurrection, violence, unlawful combination, or conspiracy, opposes or obstructs the laws of the United States, or the due execution thereof, or impedes or obstructs the due course of justice under the same, *it shall be lawful for the President, and it shall be his duty, to take such measures, by the employment of the militia or the land and naval forces of the United States, or of either, or by other means, as he may deem necessary, for the suppression of such insurrection, domestic violence, or combinations.*"

There is no room left for discussion of the President's authority and obligation to do just what he is doing. It will be seen that the discretion of the chief executive is absolute. Everything is left to his judgment, and he has the support of the laws in taking any measures which he may deem necessary. Section 5299 of the revised statutes was fortunately framed so as to meet a contingency which could hardly have been foreseen—the occupation of the governorship by a man who sympathized with law-breakers and who would not use the power of the State against them. But for such a grant of power, a Populist or anarchist Governor—like Altgeld of Illinois, Lewelling of Kansas, Waite of Colorado, or Pennoyer of Oregon—might allow government to be overthrown in his State, and lawlessness to run riot, and still claim that there was no warrant for federal interference. Happily the President is armed by statute with all the power needed not only to suppress mobs, but to overcome anarchist Governors.

THE SITUATION IN CALIFORNIA.

THE popular animosity to the railroads and the sympathy with the strikers that are manifested by almost all classes in California, as shown by the press despatches, are perplexing to Eastern readers. There does not seem to be a voice raised there in favor of order and civil government; and the inconvenience and losses to which the public are subjected seem to be accepted willingly, so long as the railroads suffer quite as much or more. There are several causes for this.

To begin with, California transportation is practically monopolized by one company, the Southern Pacific. This road controls the entrance to San Francisco northward from Los Angeles; it leases the Central Pacific, and so controls the direct traffic East as far as Ogden, and it controls the line running north to Oregon. Besides this, it controls the ferries across San Francisco Bay, most of the California local lines of railroad, and most of the San Francisco street-car lines. Every complaint, therefore, that is made against a railroad there—quality of service, rates of fare, and freight charges—falls on this company. There is no chance to compare it with the service and charges of other companies in the same territory, and it centres in itself all the popular animosity to "monopolies." This animosity is especially strong in California because the profits of land products depend there almost entirely on freight rates. Grain is shipped by water, but the fruit industry, on which the majority of California ranchers depend for a living, is a success or a failure in accordance with the grower's ability to get his fruit quickly to an Eastern market at rates that will leave him a profit. The universal complaint there is that the Southern Pacific company adjusts its freight charges so that the profits of fruit-raising go largely into its treasury. On the other hand, it is pointed out that the distance of California from a profitable market must always be an obstacle to its success as a fruit-growing State, in view of the competition of Florida and countries reached by water; that fruit-growing there has been overdone, as grape-raising undoubtedly has been (fine vineyards have been dug up in recent years as wholly unprofitable), and that a railroad has to charge more for carrying perishable freight than it does for carrying freight that can take its chances on the line and requires no attention.

California suffers from another "monopoly" that has a great deal to do with the formation of public opinion; that is, a lop-sided press. It is no exaggeration to say that there is scarcely a newspaper in the State that discusses public affairs with any degree of independence. Journalism there means truckling to party and to the mob element. It was so when Chinese rights were concerned, it was so when the Coxey movement was under way, and it is so now when the mob is paralyzing the business of the State. During the anti-Chinese excitement, editors whose papers were loudest in advocating the expulsion of the Chinese were ready to admit privately the falsity of their position. But the public were on the other side, and fear of loss of circulation or of advertising patronage dictated their course. Any visitor to California will hear intelligent Californians lament the weakness of the local press.

California, too, is politician-ridden. "Practical politics" controls its affairs, at great cost to the people. There is boodle in every public enterprise. Some of the persons appointed to assist in getting up the California exhibit at Chicago resigned because, even in such a matter, the bosses insisted that they should have a share, and it is said that some of the county exhibits in the San Francisco exhibition cost thousands of dollars more than they needed to on this account. As a result, the State Legislature is corrupt. It is openly charged with being out of real sympathy with the farmers. A railroad magnate, Stanford, had a life hold on the United States Senatorship. A quiet movement is in progress all over the State to place the State affairs in different hands.

Such is the situation there as it stands to-day. Separated by a vast distance from the Eastern States, and by a territory, too, that is for a great width not adapted to thick settlement, California has problems of its own to solve. Its State pride is intense, and, because of its seclusion and its vast area, county rivalry takes the place of State rivalry in the East. Its mines have become secondary in importance to its ranches, and in regard to these there are trying problems to be solved. Its capacity of production is undisputed. It is now trying to find out what it can produce at a profit. It may be the wine producing country of the future. Its olives may supply the markets of the world. Its dried and canned fruits may be the source of permanent prosperity to its fruit-growers. But its population will have to learn the old lesson that no prosperity comes to a people who ignore law and order, and that economic wrongs are not righted at the hands of mobs, whether those mobs direct their energies against defenceless foreigners or temporarily defenceless corporations.

THE SETTLEMENT OF LABOR TROUBLES.

AFTER sitting for over three years, the Royal Commission on Labor has submitted its final report. It had made a number of reports already, and has from the beginning poured forth a stream of documents of diverse character, so that it would require the leisure of a Methuselah to master the whole of its publications. The upshot of it all is, in the words of the London *Economist*, "a majority report which is more or less inconclusive, and a minority report which is little but the manifesto of a party." While the conclusions and recommendations submitted are not absolutely valueless, hardly any one will contend that they are worth the enormous amount of time and money which they have cost. The results are what could have been obtained at the outset in a week by getting the opinions of a dozen clear-headed men. In fact, the method of investigation pursued by this commission and by most commissions of this kind violates every principle recognized by science, and the results have the same relation to political economy that a collection of the files of all the newspapers published would have to history.

There are, however, some supplementary "Observations," drawn up by the Duke of Devonshire and signed by several of the commissioners, which are not without bearing upon our own troubles. As is well known, the English law was only recently amended so as to recognize the existence of unions of laborers in any way except as conspiracies; but the amendment did not go so far as to authorize the courts to enforce certain agreements which the trade-unions might advantageously make. The result is, that these bodies have been unable to enter into any legally enforce-

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able contracts as bodies with each other, or with outside persons, except with regard to the management of their own funds and of real estate; and it appears that the same disabilities rest upon the trade associations of employers. In view of the fact, disclosed by the evidence given before the commission, that a considerable and very important part of British industry is conducted under collective agreements made in the most formal way between highly organized trade associations, and that the substitution of agreements between associations for agreements between individual employers and individual workmen is a growing practice, the commissioners hold that the law ought certainly to recognize the rights and obligations so created.

In the opinion of these commissioners such a change in the law would result in the better observance for definite periods of agreements with regard to wage-rates, hours of labor, apprenticeship rules, demarcation of work, profit-sharing, and joint-insurance schemes. But of still more consequence would be the better basis thus created for arbitration in industrial disputes. The absurdity of what is known as "compulsory arbitration" is well known. There is no means of compelling the parties to the arbitration to observe the judgment of the arbitrator. But if the trade-unions should be legally authorized to contract with employers, whether individuals or associations or corporations, the consequence would follow that they would be liable to be sued for damages, in case of breach of contract; which damages would be payable out of their collective funds. It may be added that, since questions of this kind would fall under the jurisdiction of all law courts, ordinary litigation would tend to take the place of arbitration in disputes between workmen and employers, as it does in most other controversies.

It is further recommended in these "Observations" that every contracting association should be responsible for carrying out the collective agreement by all its members, so long as they remain its members, and that every member of an association should, during membership, be held to be under a contract with the association for observance of this agreement. The effect of this would be to give to those entering into contracts with an association the right to sue it for damages in case of breach of contract by it, or by any of its members, and to give an association the right to recover damages from those of its members who infringed the collective agreement. It would be necessary to add to this a responsibility on the part of the association for the torts committed by its members, in cases of maltreatment or intimidation of free laborers, and also in cases where property was destroyed by its members during strikes. Such legislation as this would clearly establish a *modus vivendi*, and it would be practicable to maintain actions for damages without resorting to strikes or lockouts, for failure to submit questions to arbitration after agreement to do so, for failure to raise wages when promised, etc.; the controversy being settled in civilized fashion by the lawyers in court while the parties were going about their regular business.

To return to the subject of State intervention in trade disputes, the commissioners' observations are so judicious as to deserve quotation. They say:

"To examine this question it is desirable, in the first place, to point out what the State cannot do according to the ordinary principles accepted in this country. It seems to be obvious that the State cannot compel either individuals or bodies of men to enter into agreements, and that the state cannot compel employers to give employment or workmen to do work upon terms which they do not respectively accept. Inasmuch as strikes and lockouts are, in practice, the assertion of these essential liberties on the part of the employers and workmen, it is clear that the State cannot prohibit acts of this kind and compel the parties to resort to tribunals of any sort instead. It was suggested in the evidence that strikes and lockouts should be illegal and punishable in cases where arbitration had not first been resorted to. But it seems, for the reasons just given, that it is impossible to make strikes or lockouts illegal and punishable in any case, leaving out of consideration such exceptional cases as those of the army or navy, or certain cases especially provided for by legislation where a sudden strike in breach of contract may involve actual danger to the public. Generally speaking, it may be laid down that the State cannot compel parties to submit to arbitration matters upon which they have a perfect right to take their own line, and it cannot compel either employees or workmen to carry out, by way of specific performance, an award as to wages or other terms of service. For these reasons the Royal Commission on Trade Unions of 1867 appears to have decided rightly (while warmly advocating the extension of voluntary arbitrations) that no 'system of compulsory arbitration' is practicable."

It is evident that the scheme which is outlined above is rational and practicable. We are not disposed to maintain that the State should decline to enforce any contracts, not palpably against public policy, which individuals, or which associations of individuals, choose to make with one another. At the same time, in view of the narrow spirit which has always in the past characterized trade-unions, and which is as intense to-day as ever, we are inclined to regard any increase of their functions, except in the direction of mutual benefit and insurance, with some apprehension. The disposition manifested by these unions to exclude free workmen from the labor market might, if their strength were increased, lead to great oppression. Still, as their responsibility would increase with their strength, the rights of individual workmen might find sufficient protection under such a system as has been described, and it is perhaps the best solution available in England. In this country it is very evident that our pressing need is not for more law, but for the courageous enforcement of what already exists.

ÎLE-DE-FRANCE AND PICARDY.—V.

LONDON, April, 1894.

COMPIÈGNE is a contrast to rude Coucy and grave Noyon—though far less than in the brilliant times when Napoleon III. passed his hunting seasons there. But it has a history, not feudal, communal, and episcopal like the other cities we had seen, but royal and even pontifical, for Innocent II., driven from Rome, established the Holy Seat there. Kings were chosen, crowned, poisoned, and buried, royal matches made, royal brides received, royal marriages celebrated there; queens divorced there and mistresses substituted for queens. There it was that Robert, the Pious pardoned his assassins and St. Louis kissed the leper, that Jeanne d'Arc was captured and Richelieu appointed minister. The States-General have been held and treaties concluded there. But with all this history the two ancient churches and the Hôtel-de-ville are better worth seeing than the seat of the court, the château, a heavy edifice of the time of Louis XV.

The chief use of Compiègne to us was to serve as a base from which to move upon Pierrefonds. We drove through the Forêt de Compiègne, once sought for its wolves and boars, then for its stags, and now for the pictures it suggests to artists. Antiquarians find in it traces of the worship of the Druids and the stations of the Romans; at a later time, if we may believe Ariosto, the Knights of the Round Table held their meetings under the great trees. One should go by "la jolie route," which winds among the low hills well covered with oak and beech and hornbeam, catching near Pierrefonds distant views that recall New Hampshire or western Pennsylvania, noting here and there the touch of the woodman's axe or watching the rabbits scamper away from the track. Then one can return by the straight road and see the old women tottering under loads of brushwood twice as long as themselves, and looking indeed more like Birnam wood coming to Dunsinane than like human beings.

Pierrefonds, if it excites the imagination less than Coucy, instructs it more. Nowhere in the world is there such a reconstruction of the Middle Ages. Pierrefonds has been rebuilt exactly as it left the hands of the architect of Louis d'Orléans in 1390, and though the new decoration is of course not the same, it is conceived entirely in the spirit of the time by the most accomplished antiquarian architect that France has ever had. And yet one cannot regret that he never had at his disposal the fifty million francs that would have enabled him to restore Coucy with the same completeness. Let everything be done to preserve that from further dilapidation, but keep it as it is. One spick-and-span antique is enough in a small department.

At Pierrefonds, with a little time and a little reading, one could easily reconstitute the whole life of the château. The stage and the scenery are there; it needs but the actors and the costumes. And even the hurried tourist, if he will look well at the moats and ramparts, gates and drawbridges, sculptured columns, storied walls, carved chimneys, the great statue in the court, and the stone crocodiles crawling down the towers—look till he can close his eyes and yet see every detail—and then will call up his reminiscences of story and stage, of ballad and opera, will not find it difficult to fill the great halls with knights and ladies, the offices with servants, the guard-rooms and battlements with soldiers. One should not fail to see the fourteenth-century

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church in the village—all there is to see, in fact. It is a most strange mixture of constructions of different epochs, with a very ancient crypt dug in part out of the rock.

At Clermont, though the fourteenth-century church is well worth a visit, we cared most for the market, whose opening was announced by a costumed official beating a drum about the streets, though at the close it simply melted away like the open-air markets in Paris. It was held on a slight declivity, paved with small flat-topped blocks of stone, beautifully clean, and surrounded by two-story stone houses, solid, respectable, clean, but dingy, among which stands prominent (on the corner of one of the four streets that start from the place) the town-hall, built in 1320, the oldest in the north of France. The night before, attracted by a light, I had listened to the town band practising there. No rustic band in a New England town ever played worse. The place was now filled with a hundred old peasants, the greater part of them women (all the country women are old), in sabots, odd caps, and long blue aprons tied round their extremely capacious waists, most of them with more wrinkles than they had provisions to sell, all talking at once with the utmost good humor, and selling out of the paniers in front of them (to a crowd of bonnes and careful housewives with baskets on their arms) cheese, cabbages, lettuce, and many other known and unknown vegetables which would no doubt make savory soups and salads. A little apart others had knit-goods, linen, crocheted lace, caps, sabots. There were, too, curious collections of dirty books, soiled, torn engravings, and old iron and brass, such as we had seen in Dordrecht and Rotterdam and spread out on the sidewalk around the Halles in Paris—a mass of rubbish which Americans would think fit only for the dust-heap; yet the sellers preserve it, pack it away carefully at night, and set it out early the next market day. I said sellers, but I never saw any one buying these rusty scraps. An anarchist might like them to stuff a bomb with; but that would not explain the persistent offer of them for sale in provincial towns where there are no anarchists. Perhaps the custom is a survival, as well as the goods, and, indeed, like the market itself, which has much declined from its former greatness. Once it served for the exchange of the products of seventy-seven villages; a great quantity of wheat was sold there. But the Railroad, which sets up and abases as it will, has destroyed this commerce as well as the fruit market, where quantities of early fruit used to be brought every year. Buyers now purchase direct from the producers, and the hill town is deserted. Even the three annual fairs, which have been held for 700 years, have but a shadow of their former glory. Like the other cities, Clermont had a commune (established in 1197), sieges (the English pillaged and burnt it twice), and, in the early times before the counts of Clermont became dukes of Bourbon, on their way to become kings of France, it received many royal visits, and Charles le Bel was born there.

After all, the church should not be passed by in silence, for it has some good glass, with naïve inscriptions which recount:

Comment St. Zacharie au roi Liutprand fit rendre
Les villes qu'au S. Siège il avait osé prendre.
Comment S. Constantien dés dons de Clotaire
Pour la gloire de Dieu batit un monastère.
Comment St. François auprès du St. Siège
Pour fonder son ordre reçut des privilèges.
Comment St. Charles pieds nus et corde au cou
Va de par le pays emplorant Dieu pour tous.

As in most French towns, the antiquaries of Beauvais have been industrious in preserving the memories of the past. Before the Revolution, they say, the city was crowded within its ramparts. The streets were tortuous and narrow, so that the projecting upper stories shut out much of the light. At night they were not lighted; for long after the fashion of street lamps had been introduced in Paris the authorities professed to the intendant of the province that they were too poor to buy and maintain them. Nearly all the houses were tiled, except in some outlying quarters where they were thatched. Many streets were not paved, and the paving where there was any was poor. In the three years preceding 1789 only 5,500 francs was spent in improving it. The houses drained into the street as in Philadelphia. A stream of dirty water ran down the middle of the way, and the public scavenging consisted in pushing, when it rained, the heaps of refuse that had accumulated since the last shower into the middle of the street, and trusting to the force of the current to carry it into the river. When the rain held off too long, the bailiff of the county would sometimes order the streets to be dug out; but this did not often happen. The ditch in the middle of the street, which had its parallel in London as late as Johnson's time, was picturesque in places, no doubt, as may still be seen in the lower parts of Amiens, where the tanners and dyers establish their workshops over such streams, finding the water convenient, and hang their skins and cloths on lines across the streets to dry. In Beauvais this would be done especially along the three or four little rivers which ran around and through the city, and which, with the fourteen bridges thus required, permitted the inhabitants to call it the Venice of France. Evidently Beauvais deserved better the first of the three epithets attached to it by its neighbors, "la ville puante, sonnante, et médisante." No wonder it was decimated by epidemics three times in the seventeenth century and twice in the eighteenth. And in the fifteenth we read of such a plague that when Louis XI. was to pass through it, his physician ordered great fires to be made in the streets to drive away the bad air.

One sees why the metric system was desired by reasonable Frenchmen. The confusion of weights and measures must have been unendurable. Before the change there were two kinds of feet, *le pied du roi*, twelve inches, and *le pied du comté*, eleven inches; the *mine* (a measure of grain) had fifty *verges*, but in some fields of the city the *mine* had only forty-eight *verges*, and in others only thirty-six; wood to burn was four feet long, but at Notre-Dame-du-Thil it was three feet eight inches. There were two kinds of pounds, *la livre poids de marc* of sixteen ounces, and *la livre du comté* of fourteen ounces. About the measure of wheat there was so much difficulty that it was fixed at last by an act of the Parlement; but for barley and oats there were still two measures, that of Allonne and that of the Abbey of St. Lucien. A little variation of weights and measures, like our pound troy and pound avoirdupois, or the ton and the long ton, can be endured; but when every city had its own money and its own measures, and some, like Beauvais, had two or three, affecting not rare purchases but daily transactions, the life of the traveller could not have been a happy one. An American can get some idea of it by recalling the annoyances of travel in his country before we had our zone system of time.

What a change the Revolution made in France can be seen in the case of Beauvais. In 1789 the city was still thoroughly feudal in institutions and mediæval in aspect. Fortifications, churches, convents, bridges, crooked, dark, malodorous streets, low, leaning houses, open drains, had all been kept, with the ninety-two church-bells that gained for it the name *sonnante*. Of the buildings and the streets some remain, fortunately for the tourist and not to be regretted by the citizen, for we had repeatedly noticed that it is not necessary that streets should be wide in order to be clean, and it is not a great evil that the street in front should be dark, if the court or garden behind is light. There are still plenty of old houses jutting out at each story, frame houses, with the beams displayed and the intervals between built in with bricks and colored tiles, red, green, blue, yellow. Some ways are so narrow that one can touch each side. Every one walks in the middle, the sidewalks being most used for the display of goods and viands for sale. But early in the century the ramparts were levelled and made into pleasant walks; where old houses have disappeared the streets have been widened; since 1789 they have been lighted at night; refuse is removed by carts; the drains now go under ground, and even the larger streams were covered. The greater part of the churches have disappeared and with them their musical bells.

The political and social changes, however, are far greater than the material. The whole complicated, cumbersome, annoying system of feudal institutions was destroyed at a blow. Whether there was as great a gain to the happiness and morals of the people as there has been in their comfort and hygiene would require more than a day's stay to determine. One of their own writers, rejoicing that Beauvais is no longer *puante*, and lamenting that it is no longer *sonnante*, confesses that it is still *un peu médisante*. But this may be only his satire and not more to be trusted than satire in general.

At dinner there we heard a lively political discussion, which, if it did not teach us much, amused us with contrasts of character—the eager propagandism of a radical Boulangist, who even confessed that he might be a practical anarchist but that he was not yet tired of life, the timid interjections of a townsman, the seriousness of a Moderate Republican, the indifference of a group of commercial travellers, the courteous non-committal of a high military officer. It showed—what too many scenes in the Chamber of Deputies might sometimes lead one to doubt—that there are Frenchmen who can engage in a warm discussion without losing their heads. The future of the nation depends on whether there are enough of that sort. There have been warm discussions before this at Beauvais. There were the usual disagreements between the bishop, the chapter, and the commune, and, besides, the bishop and the chapter at one time fell out on religious questions. The chapter by intrigue procured an order of the court closing the choir of the cathedral to certain canons suspected of Jansenism, and indeed went so far as to refuse the viaticum to one of them.

The cathedral is unique. Before the nave was begun, the political and religious movement that produced the great cathedrals of northern France was ebbing. It left at Beauvais only a transept and a choir. But such a choir! so light, so lofty; the Gothic idea of leading the eye upward carried to its extreme. Nowhere but at the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris is there such perpendicularity. Even the lofty nave of Saint Ouen at Rouen and the cathedral aisles, which in their narrowness seem still more lofty, do not affect one as does

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Beauvais. If the artist's conception could have been carried out, there would have been no nobler cathedral in France, and there would have been no need to say that he who should add to the choir of Beauvais the nave of Amiens, the portal of Reims, and the towers of Chartres, would have the finest church in the world. Here heightening stopped, for no one could surpass Beauvais, and its accidents frightened all architects from trying to imitate it. Twice the vaulting of the choir fell in, because the columns were too light and the buttresses too far apart. In the middle of the fourteenth century the architects, instead of building the nave, devoted all their energies to proving that the Gothic style could soar as far above the ground as the Renaissance was promising to do in the projected dome of St. Peter's at Rome. They succeeded in carrying their spire more than a hundred feet higher (half as high as the Eiffel Tower), but their work, though it had taken thirteen years to build, lasted but five. If it had only had support from the wall of a nave, we should possess it to-day and not be forced to learn its features from an imperfect engraving in a rare history.

In nothing are the ravages which fires, storms, and revolutionary zeal have inflicted upon the ancient French churches more to be regretted than in the loss of the colored glass that once cast a mysterious light through their aisles; yet in almost all enough is left to emphasize the coldness of the plain windows and the inferior beauty of the later painted glass. Colored glass was meant at once to temper the flood of light thrown into the Christian temples by their great Gothic windows, and yet to warm, at least in appearance, the cold and sombre rays of the northern winter. But this was not all. "In pictura," says St. Gregory, "legunt qui litteras nesciunt, et vident quod sequi debeant." As Ruskin calls the sculptures of Amiens its Bible, the windows of a cathedral are an illuminated Bible. They taught the lives of the patriarchs, the sufferings of Job, the trials of Tobias, the courage of Judith, the royal power of Esther, the virtues of the saints, the patience of the martyrs; and if after all it was only a scholar here and there that profited much by the lessons, they were in that not unlike all education. In the choir of the cathedral at Beauvais are lovely windows, but not equal to those at Reims, which surpass all that we have seen in rich and harmonious color. At St. Étienne, too, are some good windows of the sixteenth century, in which the figures are more clearly defined than in the earlier work, and yet the colors are not so staring as in many lamentable productions of the present century. But the glass at Reims was like real gems, rich, soft, and brilliant at the same time, while modern glass is like imitation jewels, pretty but with no true gleam.

At Beauvais our tour substantially ended. It should have included Amiens and Rouen, but we were obliged to hurry back to Paris, only stopping over a train at Beaumont, a hill-side town, to see a church of the thirteenth century and the remains of a château. We enjoyed this trip so much that we hope many of our countrymen will take it, but, as I said before, others equally interesting can easily be arranged.* C. R.

*Our course was as follows (a * marks a stay over night, a † a cathedral, a ‡ a castle): Soissons *‡, Reims †***, Laon †*, Coucy ‡, Noyon ‡*, Compiègne †*, Pierrefonds ‡, Clermont *, Beauvais †*, Beaumont ‡. Only Compiègne, Pierrefonds, and Beaumont are in the Ile-de-France proper; the others except Reims are in that part of Picardy that was annexed to the Ile-de-France for Government purposes. Reims is in Champagne; but it may well be joined with the rest since the architect of Reims Cathedral, Robert de Coucy, was from the Domaine Royal, as the Ile-de-France is called, and the city itself is not far from the borders.

PASQUIER'S NAPOLEONIC MEMOIRS.—IX.

PARIS, June 20, 1894.

THE fourth volume of the memoirs of Chancellor Pasquier has not the same dramatic, one might almost say epic, character as its predecessors. It extends from 1815 to 1820, and is the history of the first years of our parliamentary and constitutional government. The experiment took place under the most difficult circumstances. The Duke de Richelieu, who was intrusted with the task of forming a cabinet after the dismissal of the Talleyrand-Fouché cabinet, was a stranger in his own country; he enjoyed the favor of the Emperor Alexander of Russia, but for that reason was not quite sympathetic towards England and Austria. He had to negotiate with the allies on many points of the greatest importance. One day he returned from the conference with the foreign plenipotentiaries pale and trembling. "I am lost; I am dishonored; yes, after what I have just consented to, I ought to be hung. I am a sacrificed victim. Why did I return to my unfortunate country? It would have been better to flee to Asia." He obtained, however, better terms than any other person would have done, thanks to the great esteem which the Emperor Alexander felt for him: the military occupation of France, which was to last seven years, was reduced to five; the war indemnity was reduced from nine hundred to seven hundred millions (compare these terms with what France had to accept in 1871); the frontier of France remained what it was before, with the exception of Landau, which was given up; the fortifications of Huningue had to be demolished.

The trial of La Valette took place during these negotiations. La Valette had assumed the functions of postmaster-general. On the 20th of March, even before Napoleon had entered the capital, he sent couriers to him, and a circular to all the departments, in these terms:

"The Emperor will be in Paris in two hours. The capital is in a state of the greatest enthusiasm. All is quiet, and, whatever may be said to the contrary, there will be no civil war. 'Vive l'Empereur!' Signed: the Councillor of State, Postmaster-General, Count de La Valette."

The consequences of this act of open rebellion on the part of La Valette had been null, and he had acted only after the departure of the King. The coöperation of the humblest officer of the army which had joined the ranks of Napoleon's increasing force had been more important. Nevertheless, it was impossible that La Valette should not be tried for high treason. He was personally liked and popular. Marshal Marmont, Mme. de Vaudémont, and Pasquier, who was La Valette's personal friend, did all they could in his favor; but he was condemned to death. In vain did Mme. de La Valette throw herself at the feet of Louis XVIII. and ask for the pardon of her husband.

"At six o'clock P. M.," says Pasquier, "there was no longer any doubt; pardon had been refused. I went to Mme. de Vaudémont; she was, like myself, extremely sad, and we were exchanging our fears when she was advised that somebody was asking for her. She left me, and I half saw in the next room a man unknown to me, who was greatly agitated. I was struck by the change of countenance in Mme. de Vaudémont when she came back to the drawing-room; she was almost gay. When I returned home, I told Mme. Pasquier that I should be much mistaken if M. de La Valette had not made his escape from his prison."

The escape was conceived by a M. Baudus, who had been a journalist in Hamburg during the emigration. La Valette helped him when he returned to France and got him a position as preceptor to the son of Murat at Naples, and afterwards as translator at the Foreign Office. Baudus felt much gratitude and affection for La Valette, and he contrived a plan of escape, which succeeded. Mme. de La Valette was very tall, and was always enveloped in mantles and furs; she went to see her husband in prison, they exchanged clothes, and he escaped almost miraculously. At the door of the prison he was not hindered by the porter, who was unsuspicious, and he immediately entered a carriage which was kept in readiness by Baudus. He took refuge in the apartment of a high official of the Foreign Office, M. Bresson, in the hôtel of the Foreign Office, where the police did not think of searching for him; and not till after a fortnight was he taken in an English uniform in a carriage to Compiègne by Col. Hutchinson. There he entered the carriage of Gen. Wilson, who conducted him to Belgium, and he retired to Bavaria, at the house of his cousin, Prince Eugène de Beauharnais.

The trial of Marshal Ney took place at the same period. Ney had, unfortunately for himself probably, denied the competence of the council of war, and the council of war had also declared itself incompetent to pass judgment on him, as the marshal was a peer of France and could be tried only before the House of Peers. The marshals and generals who composed the council of war were only too happy to wash their hands of a most painful commission. But, says Pasquier, "what cannot be understood, without having seen it, was the revolting passion which manifested itself in the ranks of the highest society; nothing could truly paint the attitude and the language of some drawing-rooms. I saw men of good family put on the uniform of the national guard, which they had never worn, solicit and obtain the privilege of mounting guard at the door of the prison, and watch the room where the marshal was confined, not trusting anybody but themselves in their anxiety to prevent an escape."

Ney's trial is one of the most dramatic episodes of the Restoration. The military convention which had opened the gates of Paris to the King had this article: "Persons and private property will be respected: the inhabitants and in general all persons in the capital will continue to enjoy their rights and liberties, without being disturbed on account of the posts they fill or may have filled, their behavior, or their political opinions." The Duke of Wellington was of opinion that Marshal Ney could not have the benefit of this convention because it had not been ratified by the King. "In good faith," says Pasquier, "would anybody have dreamed that this convention would not bind the King of France as well as the allies? Was not their cause common? Had the convention not been made in the interest of the sovereign to whom it opened, without any of the misfortunes which might have been feared, the gates of his capital?" Ney was condemned: the Duke de Broglie was the only peer who answered negatively the questions put to the House. "The decree," says Pasquier, "was rigorous, but was it unjust? I think not; I believe no tribunal could have escaped the necessity of condemning the marshal. But the capitulation ought to have hindered the judgment; it ought to have decided the sovereign to pardon." Ney fell a few yards from the Palace of the Luxembourg, where he had been judged, under the fire of a few soldiers. The Russians did not conceal their indignation,

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One of them said to one of the judges: "It is quite clear that you were not in the French army in Russia, for you would not speak as you do of the most prodigious man of that army, of the man whose heroic courage saved its remnants, and to whom forty thousand of your best soldiers owed their lives."

The condemnation of Ney and of La Valette, instead of making the task of the restored dynasty easier, made it more difficult. There was in reality a gulf between the people and the dynasty; the forms of parliamentary government covered it for some time, but in reality the country was never quite reconciled to the Bourbons. It requires the pen of a Macaulay to render parliamentary history very interesting. I must confess that Pasquier is often fatiguing when he speaks of the discussions of the chamber, the changes of cabinet; he enters into the most minute details concerning affairs which have now lost much of their interest, concerning laws which are forgotten, concerning rivalries which have lost their meaning. The impression which the reader receives is that of a permanent hostility subsisting between the nation and the dynasty, and of a sort of artificiality in the political life of the constituted powers. There was below the surface an undercurrent of hostility, somewhat analogous to that which existed between 1814 and 1815, and made the return of Napoleon from Elba such an easy and astounding triumphal march.

Bonaparte was now too far off; he was in a prison from which he could not escape. It is nevertheless the belief of Pasquier that he contrived at St. Helena to keep up some secret communications with France. The history of the conspiracies which took place during the first years of the Restoration is told minutely by Pasquier, and with the exactitude which might be expected of a former prefect of police. First we have the conspiracy of Grenoble. The department of Isère was one in which Bonapartist sentiment had always been very ardent. Napoleon had been received with acclamation in Grenoble in March, 1815. The head of the conspiracy was a man called Didier, who had been a lawyer and a professor of law. He was hidden in the mountains of Dauphiny, and, with some hundred mountaineers, tried to seize Grenoble in the night. The rebels were attacked and routed by Gen. Donnadieu. Eleven of the prisoners taken were condemned and shot. Didier fled to Turin, was extradited and executed. A more important conspiracy was formed at Lyons in 1817; many arrests were made and many condemnations pronounced. Some persons openly accused Gen. Canuel, who was in command at Lyons, of having secretly been an accomplice, and scandalous debates took place on that subject.

At the end of June, 1818, Pasquier, who was then minister, received an extraordinary revelation. "An officer of gendarmes had entered into a conspiracy with some officers, among whom were Generals Canuel and Donnadieu; they had resolved to arrest the ministers at Saint Cloud, after the council, and to take them to Vincennes. They intended to force the King to change his cabinet. They hoped to execute their project with the help of two regiments, one a Swiss regiment, the other the regiment of the cuirassiers of the guard, commanded by M. de la Rochejacquelin. A letter from Gen. Donnadieu, found in the papers of M. de Chateaubriand and sold to the police, seemed to prove that the famous author of the 'Genius of Christianity' was not ignorant of the plot. The conspirators met every day on the deserted terrace of the Tuileries, which is parallel to the river, and in the histories of the Restoration this plot goes by the name of the "conspiration du bord de l'eau." Pasquier was of opinion that the conspirators should be allowed to act in order that a regular prosecution might have material enough to justify arrests and examinations of witnesses. The Government preferred to resort to arbitrary arrests and to anticipate the conspirators. The two suspicious regiments were sent away; Gen. Canuel disappeared, and no papers were found in his house. He returned and was arrested with a few others, but, in the absence of any proof, was set at liberty.

Pasquier gives many details about another much more important plot, which had for its object the proclamation of Napoleon II., in the eyes of some of the conspirators, and in the eyes of others the proclamation of a republic. The agents of the plot travelled all over France, and placed themselves in communication with the discontented officers of the army. Pasquier thinks that the banker Laffitte gave funds to the conspirators.

"When," says he, "Laffitte had to render an account to the executors of Napoleon, he could not justify the employment of a sum of 1,500,000 francs; he had no receipts to show from Napoleon, or Bertrand, or M. de Montholon. However, these gentlemen allowed the expense. It was because they knew very well that M. Laffitte had conformed to the intentions of his master, probably in obedience to verbal orders which had reached him in some particular way. This important fact proves clearly the part which Bonaparte, though he was shut up in Saint Helena, played in the agitations which tormented France as long as he was alive. This observation on the part which the Bonapartist party played till 1821 is fully confirmed by another observation: after the death of Napoleon, conspiracies ceased entirely in France."

Correspondence.

THE COLLEGE ANARCHIST.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your statement in the last *Nation*, to the effect that there is a sort of moral justification for attacks upon life and property based upon a theory which comes from the colleges, libraries, and lecture-rooms, and latterly from the churches, is supported by the teaching and the practice of the University of Wisconsin.

Prof. Ely, director of the School of Economics, believes in strikes and boycotts, justifying and encouraging the one while practising the other. Somewhat more than a year ago a strike occurred in the office of the *Democrat* Printing Company, the State printers. An agitator or a walking-delegate came from Kansas City to counsel and assist the strikers. He was entertained at Prof. Ely's house and was in constant consultation with him. A little later a strike occurred in another printing office in this city, in which Prof. Ely was also an abettor and counsellor. He also demanded of the proprietors that their office should be made a union office, threatening to take his printing away if they did not comply. (They were publishing a paper for him as secretary of some organization or association.) Upon the refusal of his repeated demands, Prof. Ely withdrew his printing, informing them that he had always been in the habit of dealing with union offices. In conversation with one of the proprietors he asserted that where a skilled workman was needed, a dirty, dissipated, unmarried, unreliable, and unskilled tramp, if a union man, should be employed in preference to an industrious, skilful, trustworthy non-union man who is the head of a family. He also stated that the latter would have no ground of complaint, as he could easily remove the objections to him by joining the union, and that conscientious scruples against joining the union would prove the individual to be a crank.

Such is Ely the citizen and business man—an individual who can say to citizens and taxpayers, "Stand and deliver, or down goes your business," and to laboring men, "Join the union or starve with your families." Prof. Ely, director of the School of Economics, differs from Ely the socialist only in the adroit and covert method of his advocacy. A careful reading of his books will discover essentially the same principles, but masked by glittering generalities and mystical and metaphysical statements susceptible of various interpretations according as a too literal interpretation might seem for the time likely to work discomfort or loss to the writer. His books are having a considerable sale, being recommended and advertised by the University and pushed by publishers and dealers. Except where studiously indefinite and ambiguous, they have the merit of such simplicity of statement as makes them easily read by the uneducated. They abound in sanctimonious and pious cant, pander to the prohibitionists, and ostentatiously sympathize with all who are in distress. So manifest an appeal to the religious, the moral, and the unfortunate, with promise of help to all, insures at the outset a large public. Only the careful student will discover their utopian, impracticable, or pernicious doctrines, but their general acceptance would furnish a seeming moral justification of attacks upon life and property such as the country has already become too familiar with.

Very truly yours, Oliver E. Wells.

Department of Public Instruction,
Madison, Wis., July 5, 1894.

BACK AND FORTH.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your learned English correspondent, "F. H." (whom I take to be Dr. Fitzedward Hall), says, in the *Nation* of last week, "That *back and forth* was ever better than a provincialism is unlikely." I suppose if we can show him "forth and back" in a good author of three hundred years ago, he would see that it might once have been a good English usage. Now, in that interesting version of the Psalms begun by Sir Philip Sidney (who died in 1586) and finished by his sister Mary, the famous Countess of Pembroke, occurs this verse, in the 139th Psalm:

"If forth I march, Thou goest before;
If back I turn, Thou com'st behind;
So *forth nor back*
Thy guard I lack;
Nay, on me too Thy hand I find.
Well I Thy wisdom may adore,
But never reach with earthly mind."

What may give this example a more curious value is, that the version in question, though the work of two such renowned and beloved persons, was never printed till more than two hundred years after Mary Sidney's death in 1621, but lay in Dr. Donne's beautiful handwriting till Mr. Singer published it in 1823. Fifty years later (1873) it was reprinted by Grosart; portions of it also by Mr. Ruskin more recently. F. B. Sanborn.

Concord, Mass., July 6, 1894.

Notes.

The collection of Coleridge's letters to be edited by Ernest Hartley Coleridge will be manufactured for England and the United

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States by the American publishers, Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Mr. J. G. Cupples, the Boston publisher, has associated with himself Mr. H. W. Patterson, under the firm name of Cupples & Patterson.

The second volume of Mr. J. N. Larned's great compendium called 'History for Ready Reference—from the Best Historians, Biographers, and Specialists' (Springfield, Mass.: C. A. Nichols Co.) follows close upon the first, in judging which we judged also the series, so far as the scheme is concerned. Vol. ii. embraces both England, France, and Germany, for its longest articles, and we suppose that chance mainly has determined that the number of pages assigned to each should be 203, 240, and 120 respectively. Since Europe is also among the topics of this volume, filling 115 pages, it is evident that the countries just named can be studied, independently and in relation, in a pretty broad way. The bringing of the several histories down to date is noticeable, and we may specify under England the summary of the Corrupt Practices Act, the text of the Reform Bill of 1884-5, and the summary of the Home Rule Bill of 1892-93; under Germany the rupture and reconciliation between Bismarck and the Emperor. The article on Europe is from the editor's own pen, and is exceptional in not consisting of excerpts from other writers.

We can do little more than register the appearance of the tenth volume of the 'Catalogue of Scientific Papers' compiled by the Royal Society of London (London: C. J. Clay & Sons; New York: Macmillan). This is, we are left to infer, the second volume of the papers for 1874-1883, as it begins at Gissmann and ends at Pettersson. The periodical literature embraced in these references is world-wide, but the catalogue is wholly by authors and not by topics, so that its utility is primarily and almost exclusively biographical. Each name occurring in the catalogue of earlier periods is numbered consecutively on. Thus, Asa Gray starts in at No. 108, and in the course of two columns reaches No. 140; Clarence King begins at 2, S. P. Langley at 22, Simon Newcomb at 36, B. A. Gould at 62, Mathew Carey Lea at 47, J. L. Le Conte at 118—to cite only American examples, among which we have also turned up Elisha Gray, Arnold Hague, Joseph Henry, H. W. Henshaw, E. W. and Julius Hilgard, E. S. Holden, John and Joseph Le Conte, Benjamin and C. S. Peirce, etc. In the case of the elder Peirce there is an exceptional reference to biographical notices of him; and under B. A. Gould one remarks sundry errata detected in entries in the earlier volumes. The typography of this catalogue is sumptuous.

The second volume in Prof. Todd's "Columbian Knowledge Series" (Roberts Bros.) proceeds from the librarian of Amherst College, Mr. W. I. Fletcher, and is upon a theme in which this author is an expert, viz., 'Public Libraries in America.' In brief chapters he touches on the history of the institution, the laws promotive of it, the buildings, selection and purchase of books, cataloguing, management, relation to the public schools, training of librarians, etc., describes some characteristic libraries and librarians, and supplies in an appendix a variety of statistics. We see Massachusetts at the head with more than 200 public libraries, containing 2,000,000 volumes, or almost as many as those in all outside public libraries in the Union, and an average of 1.23 volumes to each inhabitant; leading, too, in a law for encouraging the establishment of libraries, which New Hampshire adopts and betters by making taxation to that end compulsory, with State aid. Mr. Fletcher remarks that one-half of the 100 largest free libraries in the country have female chief librarians. There is a discrepancy on pp. 15, 25 as to the number of towns and libraries in Massachusetts, and in appendix ii. the Cornell Library should have an added reference on p. 138, viz., to No. 25 on p. 139, since its Dante collection is now preëminent; so Dante should have a reference back to Cornell.

Mr. Fletcher's appendix offering a scheme of classification is printed by itself, with some modifications, in a larger form by the same publishers, under the title, 'Library Classification,' and will no doubt serve a useful end. Still another scheme, of 1,000 heads, borrowed from the Dewey classification, is to be found in 'Hints to Small Libraries,' by Miss Mary W. Plummer, librarian of the Pratt Institute, Brooklyn. This is a very clear and practical book of instructions daintily printed, and may heartily be recommended to the inexperienced.

It was well worth while to collect the late Prof. Baynes's essays on Shakspere ('Shakespeare Studies, by Thomas Spencer Baynes,' Longmans). The chief of them, the article "Shakespeare" in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' is well known as a robust and sensible piece of combined criticism and biography, and loses nothing by being printed in a book easier to handle and to read than a cyclopædia volume. The other Shaksperian studies were contributions to periodicals, and ran the risk of being overlooked even by special students. They were all worthy of reproduction. The most important is that on "What Shakespeare Learned at School"; the least considerable, that on "Shakespeare Glossaries." Why the detached article "On English Dictionaries" was appended to the series, it is hard to see. It is now hopelessly out of date, and never was of very much consequence. Prof Lewis Campbell contributes a good biographical sketch of the author.

The progress in pessimism which the successive novels of Valdés seem to show, suffers no check in his latest volume, 'The Grandee' (London: Heinemann), in which he surely lets pessimism have its perfect work. Even his humor of other days has little to represent it here except cruel practical jokes, while the main characters of his story are such moral perverts or monsters that the account of their hideous doings reads like an essay in teratology. The climax of the book consists in the fiendish tortures to which a little girl was subjected by her mother. It is useless to waste words in disputing whether this is realism or not, or whether it is a mere diseased ferocity; so repellent a book cannot be dismissed too quickly by the reviewer, or forgotten too soon by the public. The translator, Rachel Challice, appears to have a good knowledge of Spanish, though a deficient knowledge of idiomatic English.

What the Hibbert Lectures have done for London in attracting Continental scholars as lecturers, the Gifford Lectures promise to do for Edinburgh. Prof. Pfleiderer was chosen Gifford Lecturer for 1894, and the lectures which he read in Edinburgh in January and February are already out in two volumes, 'Philosophy and Development of Religion' (Edinburgh: Blackwood; New York: Putnams). In his introduction he cleverly, if somewhat daringly, ingratiated himself with an Edinburgh audience by citing the names of Knox, Hume, and Carlyle, as those of men who had passed on the torch of "Natural Religion" from one to the other. In his first volume he plunges into the deep waters of theological speculation, in which those who choose, or can, may follow him. Leaving this philosophy of religion, in which we cannot consider him strong, he takes up in his second volume the history of the actual development of religion, in which everybody knows that he is particularly strong. He freely draws on matter of his own previously published, and makes a compact statement of the history of Christianity, viewed critically, from its beginnings down to Luther.

Dr. Mary Putnam-Jacobi's '"Common Sense" Applied to Woman Suffrage' appears in the "Questions of the Day" series of the Messrs. Putnam, and is avowedly a tract aimed at the New York Constitutional Convention now sitting. Its punning title obscurely intimates a proposed lightness of touch which proves to be not congenial to this writer, and which is conjoined with evident haste and carelessness both in composition and in printing. It is Paine's 'Common Sense' which Dr. Putnam-Jacobi undexterously endeavors to apply to her chosen topic. There is a wealth of historical citation, duly attested by footnotes, which is out of key with the humor of the conception, and which is invalidated by some extraordinary perversions of the history of the rise of the woman's-rights agitation in this country in connection with the anti-slavery cause, as well as by want of discrimination in the use of authorities. Much easier reading is the appendix, an address by the same author, on behalf of the women of the city of New York, before the suffrage committee of the Convention on May 31. The levity of Dr. Jekyll here gives way to the gravity of Mr. Hyde; and sparkle, looseness, and helter-skelter are replaced by a restrained and coherent argument, devoid of all semblance of pedantry, and worthy of the occasion. Its object being to convince, this tract should have been turned end for end.

M. Gustave Allais has been giving a course on Racine's drama, during the past winter, at Rennes, and intends to publish the result of his studies in book form. A sample has already been issued in the shape of a pamphlet containing his opening lecture, 'Le Théâtre de Racine' (Paris: Thorin & Fils), which forms very entertaining reading and whets one's appetite for the completed work.

Mélanie Scheler's 'Aimer, souffrir et croire' (Brussels: Parent & Cie.; New York: Dyrsen & Pfeiffer) is a collection of sentimental, wishy-washy rhymed prose, the publication of which is inexcusable, even if "friends" did press the too willing authoress to inflict it on the public.

Jean Bertheroy's 'Le Mime Bathllye' (Paris: Colin & Cie.) has apparently been inspired by Flaubert's 'Salammbô' or 'Hérodias,' but the inspiration has not produced a masterpiece. The sensual side of Roman life in the time of Augustus, the rivalry of two pantomimists, and the shady side of society generally have attracted the young writer more than his account of these things will attract the public.

A really strong novel, well worth reading, is 'Pour un Faux,' by Count Wodzinski (Paris: Calmann Lévy; New York: Charles Eitel). It is a story of Jewish rapacity and Christian weakness, of temptation, fall and recovery, which claims the reader's interest from the start and holds it to the very end. Genuinely realistic, in the best sense of the word, 'Pour un Faux' can be read by any one, and is proof that, Maupassant to the contrary notwithstanding, the story of a pure woman's life and sorrows may be made deeply interesting.

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M. Marcel Prévost, who writes in the Paris *Temps* on "The World of Sentiment," has written a novel, 'Les Demi-Vierges' (Paris: Lemerre; New York: Meyer Frères & Cie.), in which he professes to give a true picture of the effect of so-called modern or English education upon the French girl. If we are to accept this as bona-fide on M. Prévost's part, the conclusion is irresistible that he has been fooled into believing demi-mondaines women of good society, or that he has so foul a mind himself that he can see nothing but foulness anywhere. His whole work is false, inconsistent, and evil in tendency, expression, and effect. He is absolutely ignorant of home life and family education, and thoroughly *au fait*, on the other hand, with that peculiar portion of society which is supposed to flourish nowhere so luxuriantly as in Paris.

The latest issues of Seuffert's "Deutsche Litteraturdenkmale des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts" (Stuttgart: Goeschen) are 'Ausgewählte kleine Schriften von Georg Forster' (Nos. 46, 47), edited by Albert Leitzmann of Jena, and 'Wilhelmine von Moritz August von Thümmel' (No. 48), reprinted from the first edition of 1764 and edited by Richard Rosenbaum of Berlin. 'Wilhelmine oder der vermählte Pedant' is one of the best of those prose epics, chiefly of a comical or sentimental character, which enjoyed a certain popularity in the latter half of the eighteenth century, but very few of which deserve republication. Far more important are the minor writings of George Forster, who was one of the most remarkable men of his time, and whose suggestive contributions to ethnology, natural history, and politics may still be read with pleasure and profit. The seven essays contained in the present volume are admirably selected. Other recent numbers of this valuable series are 'Von deutscher Art und Kunst einige fliegende Blätter' (40 and 41), 'Gedichte von Johann Nicholaus Götz aus den Jahren 1745-1765' (42), and 'Goezes Streitschriften gegen Lessing' (43-45). The last-mentioned work is carefully edited by Erich Schmidt, and will interest all students of Lessing, on the principle *audiatur et altera pars*. Indeed, the entire series is excellent in both plan and execution.

The same publisher has issued a timely pamphlet of forty-seven pages entitled 'Zur Kenntnis des Marxismus: kritische Skizzen,' by Dr. Arthur Mülberger, the author of a volume of 'Studien über Proudhon'; and a fourth edition of Prof. Theobald Ziegler's 'Die sociale Frage eine sittliche Frage' (pp. 182). Both writers repudiate all schemes of State socialism as absurd and inefficient, and advocate the moral improvement and intellectual elevation of the individual, and the greatest possible economic and political freedom, as the sole basis of social reform.

A voluminous Spanish-Zapotec dictionary has just been published at Mexico by the Junta Columbina of the City of Mexico, in a splendid folio having two columns to the page. The above Junta obtained the manuscript for publication from Don Porfirio Diaz, President of the republic. We calculate that the work contains about 10,000 Spanish terms, while the Zapotec vocables are more numerous. A dictionary containing the same Zapotec terms first and the Spanish second has not yet been discovered. The manuscript of what has been published is a huge quarto volume, also written in two columns; its apparent date is the middle of the eighteenth century, but it has neither title nor preface, and is bound in parchment. There is nothing in it to indicate the author's name, though on its back we read: "Dictionario sapoteco del Balle." It is evidently a clean copy of an earlier manuscript. The orthography of the Spanish terms is by no means a model of correctness. The dialect differs not inconsiderably from that of Cordoba's vocabulary. The Zapotec people, who speak this language in several dialectic forms, occupy a large tract in the southeastern portion of the State of Oajaca, in southern Mexico, and reckon a population of about 260,000 Indians, or as many as there are Indians on all the United States reservations. They are an intellectual and peaceable nation, and in ancient times were warlike and powerful. The ruins of Mitla and other remains of monumental splendor stand upon their domain.

The *Archivio Storico dell' Arte Italiana* for March-April (but just issued) contains a richly illustrated article on the exhibition of Ferrara-Bolognese masters now being held at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in London. Among the illustrations is one of a "Nativity," the earliest existing work by Garofalo. This interesting and beautiful picture, forming until recently part of the Borghese Gallery, has lately passed into the hands of Mr. Theodore M. Davis of Newport, R. I. If historical collections must break up, it is to be hoped that other Americans will follow the example of Mr. Davis, and procure us our share of the spoils.

Dr. Veeder of Lyons, N. Y., announces that the Jackson-Harmsworth polar expedition, starting from London this month for an extended sojourn in the arctic regions, will coöperate in observing the aurora borealis upon the concerted plan in use by a large number of observers in various parts of the earth, and by the expeditions of Lieut. Peary and Dr. Nansen, thereby insuring, with what has already been done, the continuance and perfecting of these observations, which are leading to results that promise great practical value, not only to astronomical and meteorological science, but to physical research in general.

We have already spoken of the Tennyson cross to be erected on the western end of the Isle of Wight. An American subscription committee has been formed, of which the secretary is Miss Fay Davis, whose address is care of Mrs. James T. Fields, Manchester, Mass.

—The summer note is clearly struck by *Scribner's* for July in its opening article on "The North Shore of Massachusetts," wherein Mr. Robert Grant describes alluringly the near-by seaside resorts of Boston, ranging from Nahant to Cape Ann, where a more rational method of recreation is pursued than prevails at more fashionable and more bustling places. Prof. N. S. Shaler's article on "Beasts of Burden" has nothing to say about the horse, but includes the sheep, on the ground that "each year's fleece often amounts in weight to eight to twelve pounds, and in its lifetime the animal may yield a mass of wool far exceeding its weight of flesh and bones in any time of its life." A very interesting article, in these sociological times, is that in which Mr. Ernest Flagg proposes a plausible cure of the tenement-house evil, which, according to him, has arisen from the division of New York city blocks into lots of 25x100 feet, and can be materially abated by building houses square, or as nearly so as possible. By diagrams and figures he demonstrates that while four tenement-houses built on four city lots after the prevailing custom, and thus occupying 10,000 square feet, will afford only 2,060 feet of space devoted to light and air, a single square building on the same ground, constructed with a central court-yard, will afford 3,060 feet of such space, the available rental area being the same in both instances. Moreover, the proposed innovation has the added advantage of effecting a saving of 15 per cent. in cost, the calculation being for a six-story structure. If these estimates commend themselves to the experts, they are of far-reaching importance, and form a valuable contribution to the solution of a serious problem. Worthy of mention, also, is the initial article of a series which Carl Lumholtz is to contribute, treating of the cave-dwelling Indians of Northern Mexico.

—The literary traditions of the *Atlantic* are not belied in a first instalment of the letters of Sidney Lanier, edited with graceful comments by William R. Thayer. The letters printed in this number were written in 1875-76 to Gibson Peacock, editor of the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin*, who had been one of the first critics to recognize Lanier's poetic gift, and befriended him when he was in great need of friends. They are pleasant reading, revealing, as they do, a sensitive and poetic soul. A rare literary aroma, too, pervades an anonymous article entitled "The City on the Housetops," which owes its charm entirely to the perfection of its form and to its skill in handling a simple theme in a genial manner. We must mention also an article on Lucretius and another on Coleridge. Besides these there is an instructive comparative study of the various forms of government in use in our principal cities, showing a tendency to concentrate power in the hands of mayors and appointed commissions rather than in elective bodies; showing also a helpless sort of groping in the dark, a readiness to make radical changes to meet temporary needs and to abandon at short notice the principles of popular government. One curious result of the investigation is that the only city which has a satisfactory government is Washington—the only city whose inhabitants have absolutely no voice in its government, the only city where no elections are held and whose citizens have no vote. This anomaly in our system attracted the notice of Prof. Bryce. We have already called attention to Prof. Laughlin's "Monetary Reform in Santo Domingo."

—*Harper's* opens with part one of Charles Dudley Warner's new story, "The Golden House." The reader is at once plunged into the giddiest eddies of the very centre of our best society, so familiar to him from some recent American novels; he has a vague sort of impression that in some previous state of existence he has seen and heard it all before; once more he is haunted with that problem in the rule-of-three: as the anise-seed bag is to a fox, so are "the four hundred" to an aristocracy; and, as on previous occasions, Mr. Warner stops every now and then to buttonhole the helpless reader and moralize *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*. Fiction is strong in this number, as is proper. "Trilby" is continued, with a tragic turn; Miss Grace King has one of her short sketches, and Brander Matthews one of his. Owen Wister has a good story of the Southwest, and there are one or two more. Very attractive is the third part of Mr. Howells's account of his first visit to New England. In describing so frankly the ingenuous hero-worship with which he regarded the literary magnates of Boston, he somehow reminds one of Thackeray's young fellows. Incidentally he mentions that about 1860 he was a contributor to Henry Clapp's *Saturday Press*, and he quotes Dr. Holmes as

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saying of Hawthorne, "He is like a dim room with a little taper of personality burning on the corner of the mantel." Of considerable practical interest is Commander Jewell's description of the United States naval gun factory, of which he is superintendent.

—Music-lovers should not omit to read Antonin Dvorák's article on Franz Schubert in the *Century*. In the first place, it is written with charming directness and a refreshing neglect of rhetorical flourish; secondly, it is interesting, not only for its subject, but also for the unhesitating manner in which Dr. Dvorák expresses his opinion on a variety of topics on all of which he is competent to speak. In citing Rubinstein's saying that Bach, Beethoven, and Schubert are the highest summits in music, he adds that he agrees in including Schubert in the list, but would amend it by adding Mozart. Schubert's symphonies he places next to Beethoven's, and far above Mendelssohn's. Another of his judgments is that the only departments of music in which Schubert did not reach the highest summit of achievement are opera and sacred music. Dr. Albert Shaw contributes another of his studies in municipal government in an account of "What German Cities Do for their Citizens" in the matter of water-supply, drainage, electric-lighting, etc. Once more he emphasizes the contrast between our methods and theirs—a contrast that may be explained by saying that in German cities the public business is managed with the same intelligence and integrity that we look for only in the case of private corporations or firms. Particularly to the point is the account of what has been done in Berlin, all within a generation, and much of it during the last two decades. The notice of the municipal pawnshops will be read with interest in view of the recent establishment of our public-loan society. Mr. Marion Crawford begins a story, "Love in Idleness," in which he lavishes sprightliness and epigram with his customary profusion; here, again, we are introduced into the midst of the American *haute volée*, but it is painful to observe that the conversation of the heroine is modelled on that of Dodo. Mrs. Burton Harrison also begins a story, "A Bachelor Maid," the future course of which practised novel-readers will have little trouble in divining.

—Regarding the word Notch, as denoting a pass between two peaks, a correspondent writes: "Mr. Matthews has proved the 'Century Dictionary' to lie under a mistake in limiting the use of Notch to Adirondack or White Mountain gaps. But the only two instances he mentions in Vermont are near the north line of the State, and might be supplemented by others nearer the heart of the Green Mountain range. A dozen miles southwest of Rutland, the pass as you go over the ridge separating Tinmouth from Middletown has been for generations called 'The Notch.' In fact, it looks like 'something cut or indented by art.' Nor did it therefore seem to the Yankee name-givers one whit less appropriate for describing a freak of Nature in which the good mother appeared to be emulating the whittling exploits of their jackknives. May there not even be discovered such a name as Jackknife Notch?"

—The commonwealth of Massachusetts has at last taken decided action to prevent the marriage of children in that State. In 1854, in the case of Parton vs. Hervey (1 Gray, 123), the Supreme Court there decided that "the age of consent, as fixed by the common law," was the rule, viz., twelve years in females and fourteen in males. It seemed that in 1833 an attempt had been made to alter the law, but it failed. Hence it followed that such infants could be married with the consent of parents. Of late years the efforts of various charitable societies had effected an increase of the limit of age in criminal cases, so that girls under sixteen years were held to be not consenting to their own harm; but the right of parents to dispose of their children under cover of law remained. A flagrant case in Boston, last winter, attracted attention, and the Legislature has at last given relief in a bill which may serve as an exemplar to other communities. It provides that "no town or city clerk or registrar shall receive a notice of the intention of marriage of any male under the age of eighteen years, nor of any female under the age of sixteen years"; but the judge of probate in any county, after due hearing, may make an order allowing the marriage of a minor under the age just specified, provided that said minor resides in a city or town within the county, and that the father, or in case of his death the mother, or, if neither parent is alive and resident in the commonwealth, a legal guardian, has given consent to such order. A certified copy of the order is the clerk's or registrar's warrant for issuing the certificate. This prevents a legal form of marriage, but the bill should have provided penalties for any parties who should proceed to join infants in marriage. Massachusetts, and probably other States, after adopting wise rules, proceed to nullify them by a law which says that any marriage is legal if either party thereto thought that the ceremony was valid.

—'The Operas of Gilbert and Sullivan,' described by Percy Fitzgerald (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.), comes opportunely at a time when efforts are being made in several places to revive some of these works. The writer has allowed himself 248 pages and 60 illustrations to describe and picture the dozen operettas in which Gilbert and Sullivan have collaborated, as well as their principal interpreters, prominent among whom is Mr. Grossmith. There is no question that these men have created a new school of English opera, the first since Purcell, which did not live long. Probably the new school will not live far into the next century, but even if it dies, it will have supplied an enormous amount of harmless entertainment and hilarity to hundreds of thousands of theatre-goers—hilarity never aroused at the expense of propriety. Eighteen years these two writers have worked together, and Mr. Fitzgerald has collected from newspaper articles, interviews, and other sources a large amount of interesting information regarding the method of this collaboration. Most readers will be surprised to find out how much labor Mr. Gilbert expended on his librettos, working them over four or five times before he was satisfied. Strange to say, Mr. Gilbert "has no ear for music. He is very fond of it, but he would hardly be conscious of a discord. Time and rhythm he knows." But if he is ignorant of music, Sir Arthur Sullivan makes up for this by his fine ear for poetic accent. There have been operetta composers more enchantingly melodious and more richly harmonious than he, but in the art of fitting a poem with music as one fits a glove to a hand, he is a model for all dramatic composers. Mr. Fitzgerald shows that the stage-management and every detail of action and scenery, are in the Savoy Theatre, as rigidly under the control of the librettist and composer as were those at Bayreuth. And herein lies a large share of the enormous success of these operettas, which have made Sullivan one of the richest composers of all times.

A RECENT SCHOOL OF CONSTITUTIONAL CRITICISM.

Sources of the Constitution of the United States, considered in relation to Colonial and English History. By C. Ellis Stevens, LL.D., D.C.L., F.S.A. (Edinburgh). Macmillan & Co. 1894.

THE Constitution of the United States as a subject for annotation, investigation, laudation, and disputation is fast coming to be about as bad as Shakspere. As with Shakspere, its supreme greatness in its own sphere was not perceived by contemporary men, and time swept away the authors of the instrument and cheated them of an author's rightful dues, the hearing of the chorus of praise, which arose when it was too late for them to hear it. Like Shakspere, the Constitution commands the attention of other nations than its own, and has its students and commentators and historians in other lands, writing of it in other languages. We shall soon be asking whether there is any other short work in the English language, except "Hamlet," about which so much has been written as the brief document which reposes in the State Department at Washington. In another way the Constitution also finds its parallel in Shakspere: writers at last appear to demonstrate that, after all, it was not original work; that it was but the "adaptation" of older plays to the modern stage, and that behind the framers was another Bacon.

Philadelphia seems, during recent years, to have become a hotbed of constitutional studies. The late Mr. Brinton Coxe, Mr. Meigs, Mr. McMurtree, Mr. Carson—all lawyers—and now the Rector of Christ Church, the old church in which Washington worshipped, have been at work at the same time. Perhaps it is the influence of Independence Hall upon studious natures; perhaps it is a growing belief among Philadelphians that the city contributed the Constitution to the national welfare, or that if there had been no Philadelphia there would have been no Constitution. Certain it is that Mr. Stevens always speaks, and sometimes in successive sentences, of the great Convention as the "Philadelphia Convention," "the convention at Philadelphia," "the Constitutional convention at Philadelphia," the "convenvention that met at Philadelphia"; and he gives fifty per cent. more references in his index to "Philadelphia" than to the "Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia," so that if one wishes to find a reference to the Convention the most certain place to find it is under "Philadelphia."

Mr. Stevens has been spoken of as an English writer—partly, we suspect, because he has put "F.S.A. Edinburgh" on the title-page, and partly because his book has been written to prove that the Constitution is English, and substantially every provision in it. He does, indeed, inscribe his work to the nations of the world "which in varying ways bore relation to the founding of America," to "Spain, Italy, France, the Netherlands," etc.; but these nations get very little credit outside of the dedication. It has also been supposed that the book was written to refute the work of the late Douglas Campbell, 'The Puritan in Holland,' which credits that country with much if not

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all that is most valuable in the Constitution. But there is plenty of internal evidence in Mr. Stevens's book to show that he was engaged upon it long before the earlier work was published.

The striking peculiarity of his presentation is, that it sets forth what its author thinks and what everybody else thinks. Kent, Story, Bryce, Lowell, Sir Henry Maine, Sir Erskine May, and a score and more of other great authorities appear, on vital points, in copious extracts. Not only does Mr. Stevens devote a third of his pages to the smaller type of footnotes, but the text, which he reserves for himself, is verified and fortified by quotation after quotation. In matters of detail the book is generally unimpeachable. We have chapter and verse given us for everything; if the author is wrong upon a single point, some eminent authority must be wrong also. Mr. Stevens acknowledges "the earnest help and interest accorded by the late Sir Henry Maine," and we can easily believe that that eminent and judicious scholar rendered invaluable critical aid. There is also an absence of the technical mistakes that a layman would be apt to make in legal matters, which indicates the judicious criticism of some accomplished lawyer. It must also be conceded that the author treats fairly those with whom he differs. Mr. Douglas Campbell is allowed to state his side of the case and to speak in his own words. About the only great authority whom Mr. Stevens might have quoted and has not, is Burke. When laboring to prove that the 'Commentaries' of Blackstone "influenced the Convention," and the "legal influence" of that book was one of the links which bound America to England, he might have quoted with conclusive effect what Burke said in March, 1775, touching conciliation with America:

"I have been told by an eminent bookseller that in no branch of his business, after tracts of popular devotion, were so many books as those of the law exported to the plantations. The colonists have now fallen into the way of printing them for their own use. I hear that they have sold nearly as many of Blackstone's Commentaries in America as in England."

The reader who reads both the text and the annotations will have a pretty clear idea of what most of the great writers on the Constitution think.

Some of these footnotes also contain new matter of interest, as, for instance, a conversation between the author and President Hayes in 1889 on the personal power and influence of the President. Considering that Prof. Woodrow Wilson maintains that this power has been about swept away by Congressional encroachments, and that the ex-President is generally supposed to have been, so far as personal power and influence went, one of the least assuming, if not one of the weakest, of our Presidents, it is rather startling to find him, after his personal experience in office, standing among the men of the last century who saw in the executive power a menace to liberty. The conversation covers two closely printed pages, in which Mr. Hayes sketches the direct authority and indirect influence of the Executive, and asserts that they are far more potent than is usually supposed.

"If once," he says, "war exists, the President has the 'war powers,' and no man has defined what those powers are, or placed a limit on them. The executive power is large because not defined in the Constitution. The real test has never come, because the Presidents, down to the present, have been conservative, or what might be called conscientious, men, and have kept within limited range. And there is an unwritten law of usage that has come to regulate an average administration. But if a Napoleon ever became President, he could make the Executive almost what he wished to make it."

Mr. Stevens twice cites Charles Pinckney, though he omits his name from his index, as he also omits Landon's; and he twice quotes Pinckney's "Plan of a Federal Constitution," going so far as to say that "the first Amendment seems to have originated in the draft" of the Constitution which Pinckney submitted to the Convention. If the "Plan," as set forth in Madison's Journal and Elliott's Debates and the Journal of the Convention, were really the work of Pinckney, it would probably be regarded as the most wonderful contribution to the Constitution which was made by any one man, and the great instrument might even be called "Pinckney's Constitution, with modifications." But we have recently shown the want of contemporaneous value attaching to the MS. now in the archives of the State Department.

Notwithstanding the high authority of Chief-Justice Cooley (in a footnote), a writer on the Constitution in the year 1894 has no right to say that Trevett vs. Weeden was the first case after the Revolution in which legislative enactments "were declared unconstitutional." Such an assertion was justifiable a few years ago, but now betrays ignorance of the work done by President Scott, Prof. Thayer, Mr. Coxe, and other painstaking scholars. This part of the book, relating to the judicial power, is both superficial and contradictory. In the text it is said that "the colonial judiciary did not hesitate to adjudge a local statute invalid if it exceeded powers conferred by charter," and that "when State constitutions succeeded to the charters, the process was continued by the State courts." In the footnote, the only authorities cited for these broad assertions are "Trevett vs. Weeden in 1786, and Bayard vs. Singleton in 1789 [*sic*]." The former case, then, is the only authority which Mr. Stevens lays before his readers to satisfy them that in 1787 the Convention did nothing more than incorporate an existing State constitutional usage into the Constitution of the United States. This one authority proves nothing of the kind. There was no State constitution involved in the case; the statute did not conflict with the charter; the court did not hold it to be unconstitutional or void. A provision in the act was held not to deprive the defendant of the right to trial by jury; and the judges justified their action by other provisions in the same statute. Furthermore, the decision caused a tremendous uproar in Rhode Island; the judges were haled before the Legislature; they narrowly escaped impeachment, and were virtually turned out of office because of their decision. If there be an authority in the world which, standing by itself, conclusively proves that in 1787 the American people had neither adopted nor accepted the constitutional principle that the judicial power may declare void an act of the Legislature, it is this case of Trevett vs. Weeden.

Finally, it is to be observed that in this portion of his work Mr. Stevens has set himself the task of refuting that most careful and judicious of writers, Sir Henry Maine, when he says of the American judicial power that "there is no *exact* precedent for it either in the ancient or in the modern world"; and that it is a "*virtually* unique creation of the founders of the Constitution." Sir Henry Maine expresses here a philosophical conclusion of the whole matter with characteristic accuracy. No nation in the ancient or modern world possessed a judiciary beyond legislative control which could declare an act of the Legislature void. In 1787 the State courts had by no means established the principle. On the contrary, it had been, at best, but faintly recognized by the judiciary and not at all by the people. The six cases to which Gerry alluded were so little known that it is safe to say that there was not a member of the Convention who could have named them; they are now so shadowy that, with two or three exceptions, it is as hard to tell what they were as what they determined; and the vexatious condition of colonial vassalage furnished no real precedent for the regulation of a sovereign power. If Mr. Stevens will refer to Blackstone, who, he seems to think, taught the framers of the Constitution nearly all they knew, he will see that the final concession of the great teacher is that where the legislative intent is clear, he knows of no authority which can control an act of Parliament. Minute criticism is a valuable thing; but the petty criticism which undermines broad distinctions is a false teaching of constitutional history.

"The aim of the present work," says Mr. Stevens in a footnote, p. 206, "is to definitely settle" the fact that "*our peculiar institutions, those distinctive of America*, are derived from the mother country." We have seen that the English judicial power, in its relations with Parliament, and the American, in its relations with Congress, are the opposites of each other; that one cannot do what the other can; that in a given case the English judiciary is powerless, and the American supreme. In ordinary affairs, when we find that a thing has been radically changed we attribute to somebody the credit or discredit of having changed it. Gladstone, Maine, Bryce, and other foreign and, therefore, disinterested thinkers of the highest rank, attribute the change we are now considering to the framers of the Constitution. Mr. Stevens says, Oh, no, this is a mistake—that it was not "a novel contrivance of the Philadelphia convention"; that what "has been supposed to be the most unique feature of the American Supreme Court is really only another adaptation from the past, and rests upon colonial and English precedents"; that the American judicial system is nothing but an importation, and that its extraordinary power over legislation is not due to anybody in particular, but came about of itself by a process of what he calls evolution, during the colonial period. Given a fair amount of scholarship and an unrestricted right of deduction, with such reasoning *ad libitum*, and an author can march back on historic lines until it pleases him to encamp, and say, "Lo, here is the original habitat of the Constitution." One man can halt at the Petition of Right, another can go back until he arrives at Magna Charta; a third can cry, "Pooh! all the thunder of the Barons of Runnymede which is worth hearing was stolen from the civil law." At the beginning of the book Mr. Stevens quotes Mr. Gladstone's now celebrated saying that "the American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." Here he remarks that this does not necessarily mean that the Constitution "is wholly new," nor that it was in fact "an original creation of the convention which met in Philadelphia." Further on he quotes Prof. Johnson to the effect that the success of the Constitution, if it proves anything, does not prove that "a viable constitution can ever be struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." At the end

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of the book, he does not say, but certainly leaves the ordinary reader to infer from all that has been said and shown, that Mr. Gladstone is a rhetorical old gentleman, pitiably ignorant of American constitutional history. Now we all know that the framers of the Constitution did not construct a fanciful constitution to please themselves for an ideal republic as Locke did for the Carolinas; and we all ought to know that "adaptation" is generally the highest work of statesmanship. In a word, the reader of this book and of similar studies will find in them much that is useful, interesting, and curious, but, when he comes to deductions, had better be content with those of the great thinkers of the century, who, without the prejudice of theory, or against their earlier prejudices, have assigned to the framers of the Constitution the highest niche in the temple of statesmanship.

EAST AFRICAN EXPLORATION.

Discovery of Lakes Rudolf and Stefanie: A narrative of Count Samuel Teleki's exploring and hunting expedition in Eastern Equatorial Africa in 1887 and 1888. By his companion, Lieut. Ludwig von Höhnel. Translated by Nancy Bell (N. D'Anvers). With 179 illustrations and 5 maps. 2 vols., octavo. Longmans, Green & Co. 1894.

THE extensive region lying between the Indian Ocean and the valley of the Nile, including southern Abyssinia and Galla and Somali lands, has been the field for various exploring expeditions during the past few years. Among the most successful was the one of which these volumes contain an account. Its leader was a Hungarian nobleman, Count Teleki, whose principal motive appears to have been sport rather than science. On the other hand, his companion and the historian of the expedition, Lieut. von Höhnel, an Austrian naval officer, proved to be an enthusiastic explorer and an excellent cartographer. He has since added to his reputation in these respects by his work in connection with Mr. William Astor Chanler's attempt to traverse this region from Mt. Kenia to the Gulf of Aden. This was brought to a nearly tragic end last summer, when a severe wound from a rhinoceros compelled him to return to the coast, to which Mr. Chanler, finding further progress impossible, has recently followed him.

Lieutenant von Höhnel's account of the expedition in which he won his spurs as an African traveller has very considerable merit and also labors under certain disadvantages. It is well written and contains many excellent descriptions of caravan and native life and customs, as well as numerous hunting and other adventures. A frank truthfulness characterizes it which inspires confidence in the author's statements, while he impresses himself upon the reader as a pleasant companion and a man of kindly sympathies for the natives. At the same time the various incidents in connection with the organization and conduct of an expedition in East Africa, on which he dwells with conscientious minuteness, are now very familiar, and he has not sufficient descriptive power to lend a new charm to such a twice-told tale. The greater part of the journey was through country which has been often described, and the new territory which was explored and in which the discoveries were made proved singularly uninteresting and forbidding. So much space also is given to Count Teleki's hunting exploits that not even the frequent spice of danger which attends them can prevent their becoming monotonous and wearisome. It is difficult at times to repress a feeling of indignation at the slaughter recorded, although it may have been necessary to provide meat for the porters. From an appendix containing extracts from the Count's game-book it appears that over three hundred and fifty head of large game fell to his rifle alone. This includes twenty-eight elephants and seventy-nine rhinoceroses, five of the former and four of the latter respectively having been shot in one day. Then the value, as well as the interest, of the narrative is somewhat lessened by reason of the long delay in its publication.

It was in January, 1887, that the expedition, numbering more than 300 men, left Zanzibar, and, with the usual delays incident to the movement of so large a body, proceeded to Mt. Kilimanjaro. Here several months were spent in making preparations for their journey northward from this point and in excursions, one of which was an unsuccessful attempt to reach the summit of the snow-clad peak, Kibo. The account of the mountain; of Taveta, the forest paradise at its foot in which they camped; of Masailand and its inhabitants, differs in no essential respect from those of other travellers. The Masai gave the expedition no trouble, being held in check, no doubt, by its size and strength. Though Lieut. von Höhnel casts some doubt upon the reputed bravery of this interesting people, they inspired the coast negroes with great fear, and a solemn religious service was held by the Mohammedans among them to secure their safety before penetrating into the heart of the country.

To the north of the plains roamed over by the Masai lies Kikuyuland, a strip of high lands from eight to thirty miles in breadth and about one hundred in length, with an elevation of from 4,500 to 6,500 feet. It is thickly populated by a courageous and industrious people, some districts being "so carefully and systematically cultivated that we might have been in Europe." Attention has been frequently directed to this country of late as being the most suitable for European colonization in eastern equatorial Africa, and the English have established one station, Fort Smith, on its border, on the line of the projected railway from the coast to the Victoria Nyanza. But at this time the Wakikuyu were very averse to the passage of strangers through their territory, and had shortly before completely destroyed a trading caravan which had ventured among them, and had compelled another, under the lead of Dr. G. Fischer, to "fight every inch of its way." Notwithstanding this neither strange nor unreasonable objection of the natives to the presence in their fields and villages of a large armed force, Count Teleki chose to pass through the entire length of the land, although apparently other routes to the hunting regions in the north were open to him. The author's account of the events of the six weeks spent in this country is the most exciting, though the least satisfactory, part of his work. The opposition of the natives, confined through the efforts of their chiefs, except in two instances, to threatenings, tedious negotiations, and refusals to sell food, were overcome partly by the persistence of the Count and partly by his repute as a rainmaker. This deceit he never hesitated to practise when it was for his advantage, and he more than once sold rain-medicine to the natives. Three times blood was shed—the last occasion being but a few days before the frontier was reached. A native threatened with his spear one of the head men of the expedition, who, by permission of the Count, fired on him, and a general volley ensued in which the two whites joined.

"Presently the natives began to run away, with our men, who were not to be held back, after them. Worn out with the perpetual *petty worries* of the preceding days [the italics are ours], our people were determined to pay their persecutors out now, and soon no one was left behind but the Count, Jumbe Kimemeta, a fewinvalids, and myself. We heard several shots in the distance, and then all was still. About an hour afterwards, smoke rising from the direction of the villages showed that they had been set on fire by the victors, and parties of our men began to return, screaming, singing, and dancing, as they fired off their own weapons and flourished those they had taken from their enemies. Nearly all of them were also driving cattle before them, while some had taken women and children prisoners. Soon the camp was so crowded with cattle, etc., that it seemed impossible it could hold more, and our men, drunk with victory, smeared with their own blood and that of their victims, presented a horrible appearance as they danced a war-dance opposite the tent of their master and laid their booty at his feet."

It is difficult, after reading this passage, to see wherein lies the difference, so far as the natives are concerned, between Count Teleki and an ordinary Arab slave-hunter, except that Tippoo Tib raids a district for the sake of gain; to the European nobleman a raid is a "regrettable" incident in his pursuit of sport.

An attempt was made by the Count to ascend Mt. Kenia, but he was obliged to turn back while still three thousand feet from the summit, although some distance above the snow-line. His companion was equally unsuccessful in an attempt to trace the Guaso Nyiro to its supposed outlet in Lake Lorian, to the east of the mountain, the field of his later explorations with Mr. Astor Chanler. The caravan route between the coast and the northern shore of the Victoria Nyanza was left at Lake Baringo, and the travellers set out in a northeasterly direction to seek the two great lakes said to exist in Samburu. It would be hard to exaggerate the difficulties or dangers encountered during this part of their adventurous journey. At times they traversed sandy plains over which the wind swept with the force of a hurricane. "We slept with our heads wrapped up in clothes, hardly able to breathe, and woke up completely buried in sand and dust." Long stretches of waterless desert had to be crossed, exhausting to the strength of their followers, and at length scarcely a day passed in which some one or more of their number were not reported dead or missing. But for the abundance of large game, elephants, rhinoceroses, buffalo, zebras, and antelopes of various kinds, which roamed over this wilderness, its passage would have been impossible. On March 6, 1888, the southern shore of the great lake was reached, and

"although utterly exhausted, after the seven hours' march in the intense and parching heat, we felt our spirits rise once more as we stood upon the beach at last, and saw the beautiful water, clear as crystal, stretching away before us. The men rushed down shouting, to plunge into the lake; but soon returned in bitter disappointment: the water was brackish! This fresh defeat of all our expectations was like a revelation to us; and like some threatening spectre rose up before our minds the full significance of the utterly barren, dreary nature of the lake district. Into what a desert had we been betrayed! A few scattered tufts of fine, stiff grass rising up in melancholy fashion near the shore, from the wide stretches of sand, were the only bits of green, the only signs of life of any kind. Here and there, some partly in the water, some on the beach, rose up isolated skeleton trees, stretching up their bare, sun-bleached branches to the pitiless sky. No living creature shared the gloomy solitude with us; and, far as our glass could reach, there was nothing to be seen but desert—desert—

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everywhere. To all this was added the scorching heat, and the ceaseless buffeting of the sand-laden wind, against which we were powerless to protect ourselves upon the beach, which offered not a scrap of shelter, while the pitching of the tents in the loose sand was quite impossible."

Volcanic action was everywhere evident. Sixteen craters were visible from the point where the party stood, from one of which, as smooth and straight as a chimney, issued clouds of smoke. In attempting to cross a lava stream they found themselves in a "perfect labyrinth of pitfalls with brittle walls of from some thirteen to sixteen feet in circumference. The upper covering of many of these holes was in many places torn asunder, revealing the inside, bristling with stalagmite-like spikes and edges as sharp as knives."

The lake, which they named Rudolf, after the late Crown Prince of Austria, proved to be not far from two hundred miles long by some twenty-five broad. For nearly a month they struggled along the dreary eastern shore, in imminent risk of perishing for want of food and water, until the northern end was reached. Here they found a habitable and well-populated region, but they were unable to pass through it, the opposition of the natives being too formidable for the greatly weakened expedition to overcome. A week's journey over a terrible country brought them to the shore of the smaller lake, called by them Stefanie, after the Crown Princess. Little more was done, however, than to demonstrate its existence, the few poverty-stricken natives living near it having no food to sell to the caravan. Lieut. von Höhnel climbed a hill on its eastern shore, from which the northern extremity was dimly visible, and he conjectures its size to be seventy-five miles long by fifteen broad. The water is very brackish and is evidently rapidly receding. The beach was strewn with fish, "which lay about in great quantities in various stages of decomposition." When the southern end of Lake Rudolf was again reached, an attempt was made to explore the western coast, which proved to be far less sterile than the eastern. But a famine raged among the inhabitants and they refused to sell either cattle or grain. At length the retreating expedition was reduced to such extremities that another raid was ordered and successfully accomplished, though whether the natives lost more than their cattle we are not informed. No special incident marked the return journey to the sea, where the explorers arrived on October 24, 1888, after an absence of nearly two years.

It is impossible in reading this narrative, characterized by much modesty and simplicity, not to be struck with the rare combination of the qualities that go to make a good traveller and explorer which both Count Teleki and his companion possessed. Their expedition will rank high in the annals of African travel, if not for the importance of their discoveries, for the success with which obstacles to which most men would have yielded were overcome. Of their thoughtfulness for their men there can be no question, and, with the two exceptions which we have noted, they were apparently always considerate and tactful in their dealings with the natives. An abstract of some of the scientific results of the expedition is given in an appendix. These consist of a partial list of the collection of specimens of the fauna and flora of the regions visited, made by Lieut. von Höhnel, and containing, among many other new species, four of reptiles, fifteen of butterflies, and sixty of beetles. He has also drawn an admirable map of his route, and given some excellent pictures of the natives and their various implements and ornaments. The hunting scenes are not of equal merit, and do not add to the value of the work, whose usefulness for reference is increased by a good index.

Readings on the Inferno of Dante. Chiefly based on the Commentary of Benvenuto da Imola. By the Hon. William Warren Vernon, M.A. With an introduction by the Rev. Edward Moore. 2 vols. Macmillan.

THAT the son of Lord Vernon, whose edition of Dante remains a marvel of sumptuousness, should be a Dante scholar of a high order, seems but natural. He has already edited the "Purgatorio" in a fashion similar to this edition of the "Inferno," and he hopes to complete his work with two more volumes on the "Paradiso." Adequately to review the present volume would require time and space beyond the limits imposed by the conditions of a weekly journal. The "Inferno" contains 4,720 lines; Mr. Vernon's commentary thereon exceeds 1,300 pages: obviously, therefore, we can but call attention to his general plan, and cite a few specimens culled in different parts of the work.

In brief it may be said, this edition is encyclopædic in range, detail, and diffuseness. The professional annotator dreads nothing so much as to omit any references, however trivial, for which he may be accused of lack of thoroughness. Accordingly, Mr. Vernon, who is most thorough and conscientious, leans always towards giving too much rather than too little. He seems to have in view a reader who knows nothing about Dante, or Italian history, or ordinary literature, and to devote himself to the task of informing such a reader on all these themes. As a result, his volumes are an elaborate résumé of much that has been said about the "Inferno." The Dante scholar will find in them a mine of many metals, both precious and base; the novice will also find in them a clue to lead him through the labyrinth of allusions. We recall no other editor of a world's masterpiece who has so successfully suited his commentary to students of all grades.

Mr. Vernon's method is as follows: At the beginning of each canto he presents in small capitals the chief contents of the canto; next, in a page or two of large type, he shows its subdivisions; then, in fine type, he prints a few lines of the text; under this, in medium type, is an English paraphrase; then, in large type, he makes his comments; finally, in foot-notes, he adds whatever collateral criticism he has not already supplied. This arrangement, speaking typographically, is far from satisfactory. The fragments of text are so small—mere acorns compared with the full-grown oaks of comment—that they are hard to find; especially when, as often happens, several pages of notes come between one *terzina* and the next. In our view, the original should be printed so that it could be read consecutively, even though this forced a large part of the notes back to an appendix. However excellent a commentary may be, it must be properly arranged—it must employ the best mechanical devices for catching the eye and holding the attention—in order that its excellence may not be wasted. Mr. Vernon, however, pursues the method of an expositor who, in reading the text aloud with a class, stops to criticise, or to answer questions, at every line, and takes no heed as to the length of his digressions. This method succeeds admirably in the class-room, as any one who had the privilege of reading Dante with Mr. Lowell can testify, but it has serious objections in a printed book.

Coming next to Mr. Vernon's translation, we must say that, while it is always intelligent, it is never striking. The great qualities of the original, its intensity, its brevity, its elisions, are lost through Mr. Vernon's purpose of making it, logically and syntactically, fair reading prose. He seems to take it for granted that the reader will be a person of no imagination, and he therefore inserts words or phrases to complete the sense. For instance, he translates the following lines:

> "E però nel secondo
> Giron convien che senza pro si penta
> Qualunque priva sè del vostro mondo" (xi., 41-43),

"and therefore in the second Round has to repent without avail (*i. e.*, without hope of redemption) every one who deprives himself of your world." We should suppose that any one capable of reading Dante at all would not require the explanation in parenthesis. Such dilutions are the necessary outcome of a solicitude to bring Dante within reach of the humblest understanding. Often, indeed, the interpolation is justified by the abstruseness of the text, but in a majority of cases it is superfluous. A single passage, and that the familiar story of Francesca, will illustrate sufficiently Mr. Vernon's ability as a translator:

"We were one day reading for pastime of Lancelot, how love enchained him. Alone were we, and without any fear of being surprised. Many a time that reading caused our eyes to meet, and our faces to change color; but one passage alone was it that overcame us. When we read how the smiling and longed-for lips (of Queen Guenevere) were kissed by so noble a lover, this one who never more shall be parted from me, all trembling kissed me on the mouth. Both the book and he who wrote it were a Gallehaut (*i. e.*, a go-between) to us. That day we read on no further" (v. 127-138).

It is unnecessary to point out how much Dante's incomparable lines have lost, through dilution and transposition of phrase, in this version.

But, after all, Mr. Vernon's intention is not to make a new translation which shall compete with Norton's or with Carlyle's, but to make an edition which shall surpass all other English editions of Dante in its notes; and herein he has succeeded. His patience and fidelity have allowed him to spare no investigation. He has put each word under the microscope of criticism, and has summoned Dantists of all ages—from Boccaccio and Benvenuto to Scartazzini—to corroborate or supplement the information which he has accumulated. How minute he is may be inferred from the fact that he takes three pages to prove that Latini and not Latino is the correct form of the surname of Dante's teacher. Sometimes we feel that he carries his painstaking too far, as where he subjoins a "grim diary" of Count Ugolino's death, viz.:

"*First day.* The prisoners hear the door being nailed up, and remain silent all that day and the following night. *Second day.* Ugolino, on the first appearance of dawn, is so horror-struck at the emaciated faces of his offspring that he gives way to a gesture of frenzy, which, being misunderstood by them, they offer themselves to him for food; whereupon he relapses into stony silence all that day. *Third day.* Silence and despair. *Fourth day.* Count Gaddo dies. *Fifth and Sixth days.* The other three die. *Seventh and Eighth days.* Count Ugolino gradually sinking crawls about, groping over the dead bodies, which he can only feel, but is unable to see. In vain he calls upon them to awake. His sufferings at length come to an end, and he breathes his last" (vol. ii., 641).

If any reader with a sense of humor should smile at this perfectly matter-of-fact treat-

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ment of one of the supreme tragic episodes in literature, he would deserve sympathy. We have ourselves long stood ready to welcome a Society for the Prevention of the Desiccation of Masterpieces by Prosaic Commentators. And yet, since we have not space for citing the many instances where Mr. Vernon's elucidation is truly pertinent, we would not lay undue stress on his defects. "Leave something to the imagination" is a rule which annotators as well as realistic novelists should follow.

As was to be expected, Mr. Vernon pays close attention to the time references and the distances mentioned in the epic, with the hope of reducing them all to a consistent scheme. To follow Dante watch in one hand and tape-measure in the other has been a favorite amusement with a certain class of his critics. We know that he entered Limbo on Good Friday and emerged at the foot of the Mountain of Purgatory on Easter morning—having traversed a distance of several thousand miles through the interior of the Earth. As much of his journey was made on foot, and was interrupted by conversations with the damned, it is obvious that no rate of speed possible to terrestrial pedestrians can satisfactorily account for the distance traversed. Therefore, the present writer has always regarded the use of time-piece and tape-measure as futile. He has also deemed it quite as unimportant whether, at a given point, Dante turned to the right or the left, as whether, when Job sat down on his ash-heap, he faced east or west. Dante has succeeded in making every step of the journey described by him vivid: to dissect the process by which he has produced this illusion, to discover inconsistencies, to warn the reader that it would be humanly impossible to walk six or seven thousand miles in three days—even with an occasional Geryon-flight—seems to us to belong to the province of trivialities. However, in an encyclopædic work like Mr. Vernon's these matters may properly be mentioned, and he somewhat disarms our criticism by declaring that "the *Divina Commedia* is a vision, and allowance must therefore be made for the marvellous and the impossible."

His volumes are enriched by two steel engravings of the death mask of Dante; by pictures of the font in the Baptistery at Pisa, and of the Torre della Fame in 1507; by plans of the Wheel of Fortune and of the Broken Bridge in the Sixth Bolgia; by three different charts of the Dantesque Hell; by Rossini's music to Francesca's story, and by a map of Italy in Dante's time. The introduction contains short essays on the cosmography of Dante, on the symmetrical plan of the epic, on the data of the "Inferno" and its beauties, and on Dante's itinerary. There are also chronological tables and a bibliography. From all this it will be seen that he has gathered material indispensable to every English-speaking student of the 'Divine Comedy.' If we have given undue space to criticising the defects of his encyclopædic method, it is because we believe that it would be possible to present the same material much more compactly than he has done, and that, in these days of exorbitant annotation, brevity has become an unheeded virtue. Moreover, as he is engaged on a new edition of the "Purgatorio" and on an edition of the "Paradiso," he may be induced to practise restraint. His modesty, his fairness, his painstaking, and his enthusiasm entitle him to the esteem of every lover of Dante.

Origins in Williamstown. By Arthur Latham Perry, Professor of History and Political Economy in Williams College. Scribners.

WILLIAMSTOWN got its name in 1765, and the college that has done most to give the name renown was founded twenty-eight years later; yet in these six hundred substantial pages Prof. Perry gets only in sight of the latter event, and, indeed, devotes the bulk of his book to the time when the northwestern corner of Massachusetts was an Indian pass, then the site of Fort Massachusetts, and first settled as the town of West Hoosac. A treatment at once minute and discursive is required to expand the meagre tale into such ample proportions. All is fish that comes to Prof. Perry's net, and its cast is tremendous. It is only the severest self-restraint which keeps him from narrating the seven years' war at length, as he is fully conscious of its relation to the burning of the first Fort Massachusetts. But into other digressions he plunges, despite frequent apologies, with evident delight. One Indian foray suggests another, the architecture and remains of one fort lead on to comparisons with those of half-a-dozen others, and before one gets through he comes to feel that the history of the colonies and of a good part of Europe was somehow subtly determined in the valley of the Hoosac.

But the volume is by no means an example of pure antiquarian triviality. Antiquarian triviality, and whimsicality, antiquarian or other, it contains in plenty, but withal it yields the peaceable fruits of solid research continued through forty years of enthusiastic devotion to town and college. The note of personal loyalty and championship is, in truth, prominent throughout. The north line of western Massachusetts was ordered by the Privy Council in 1740 to be run "due west" from Pawtucket Falls. But "Hazen's line," run the next year, held really 1° 45′ north of west, thus saving to Williamstown about one-third of its area, which would have gone to Vermont. With a turn worthy of Thomas Fuller, Prof. Perry speaks of this as "a blessed error of the compass." So, later on, when a citizen farmer drifted away from the town and out of this history in search of richer fields, the author, with an unwavering loyalty which is enough to put Judge Nott with his abandoned farms to shame, professes to be quite at a loss to account for the man's dissatisfaction with his perpendicular Williamstown acres. On the situation and picturesque glories of the town he wreaks himself in lover-like fashion for sixty-eight pages, and can pay no higher compliment to his dearest friend than to give his name to some unpreëmpted rock or point.

The main historical value of the book consists in its full story of the strategic position of the Hoosac Valley in relation to the French and Indians on the north and the Dutch on the west, and in its collection of every scrap of evidence bearing on the personality and family of Col. Ephraim Williams, commander of Fort Massachusetts, leader of the Massachusetts men in the Lake George expedition, and founder (by will) of the college. College-founding seems to have run in the blood, as his cousin, Israel Williams, "the monarch of Hampshire," got a charter from Gov. Bernard in 1762 for "Queen's College," to be located in Northampton, Hatfield, or Hadley. Israel's motives were not unmixed benevolence, as he was miffed at Harvard for having printed his son's name too far down the social scale in the catalogue. But the Harvard lobbyists of the day were too much for him, and got the Governor to invalidate the charter; all which did not prevent the tradition of there having once been a "Queen's College" in Hatfield. A nonogenarian resident of that town vehemently assured Prof. Perry in 1880: "There used to be a college here, and I have seen it myself." The history of the college that a Williams succeeded in founding, Prof. Perry proposes to write in a volume to follow.

Basal Concepts in Philosophy. By Alexander T. Ormond, Professor in Princeton. Scribners. 1894.

THE purpose of this work is to propose a certain modification of the Hegelian system, suggested by studies in philosophical theology. The modification cuts pretty deep, being no less than the identification of Being and Spirit, two of the primary categories of the Hegelian logic. It is to be accomplished by some alteration of the Hegelian dialectic which is not by any means rendered clear, far less justified. In fact, clearness and conclusiveness are the two qualities this book can boast the least. An ordinary person, should he be condemned to read it, might fancy he caught a glimpse of meaning here and there; but one who has devoted a year or two to the study of philosophy, upon a modern method, will find it utterly unprofitable. An accomplished thinker may make some little use of the work, notwithstanding its grievous faults of logic.

Attempts to reform Hegelianism ought to be encouraged and treated benevolently. All things are to be known by their fruits; and certainly never idea had a fairer, fuller trial than the Hegelian system. All Germany went into it for a generation, and the fruit was disappointment and disgust. How could trial be fairer? And if any question is ever to be regarded as pretty nearly set at rest—set at rest until some very unexpected new evidence presents itself—must not this question be so regarded among the first?

At the same time, very few minds that have examined the matter with attention look upon Hegelianism with exactly the same eyes as upon astrology, or even as the majority of the very small number of persons who have conscientiously examined the evidence about ghosts look upon that belief. On the contrary, although historic experience condemns Hegelianism as a method and a ruling tendency, it does go to show that where Hegelianism, while having a certain influence, has not been strong enough to turn men from common-sense humility in regard to external nature, its influence has many a time been beneficial. So it is probably safe to say that the indefinite congeries of minds that partake of the real spirit of investigating science (not mere readers of scientific results), but at the same time are well versed in the world's philosophical thought, are inclined to think that Hegelianism, however wrong on the whole, yet contains something not without value if it could be singled out. It is easy enough to point at elements of the position of Hegelians and other metaphysicians that are quite irreconcilable with the position of scientific men. All scientific men (except some pure mathematicians) have a very unaffected reverence for nature—so genuine, indeed, that it is often subconscious—which causes them to surrender their dearest beliefs at nature's best. But the idealists, as a body, as well as some other metaphysicians, look upon things external with a sort of contemptuous disdain, and regard nature as rather a bore. This self-poise deprives them of the only means whereby they could

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proceed from falsehood to truth. As long as philosophers are bred in seminaries where any species of infallibilism is taught, or imitate others so bred, such will be the main result. Theirs will be systems founded on egotism, embodying whims of more or less artistic symmetry, but destitute of the power of growth. On the other hand, it is not difficult to indicate general features of Hegelianism in respect to which it harmonizes better with the general principles of science than do most of the other philosophical systems. Here there seem to be ideas of real power. Here is something which in time must grow and choke the parasitical errors of the system. The difficulty is to give the thing the first start. Whether that can be done by any attempt to improve the agreement of Hegelianism with theology (such is the aim of this volume), may very well be doubted. We should be more inclined to look for the first buds of regenerate Hegelian life on such a tree as that of Mr. Ritchie, the author of 'Darwin and Hegel.'

We shall not advise many of our readers to try to solace their leisure by reading Prof. Ormond's not too perspicacious, nor too vigorous, nor too agreeably written volume. Two things are specially urged in it which may make some persons curious to look over the work—one the idea that personality is essential to being, the other that Nothingness has a sort of reality. We simply mention these, without saying that we think they are skilfully defended.

Roger Williams: The Pioneer of Religious Liberty. By Oscar S. Straus, author of 'The Origin of the Republican Form of Government in the United States.' The Century Co. 1894. Pp. xvii, 257.

THE appearance of this biography of one of the strictest of the New England Independents, from the pen of one who bears a name that links him to another race than that of New England, is a testimony to the wide sympathy characteristic of modern scholarship. Mr. Straus has diligently gathered the biographical facts regarding the founder of Providence, and has presented them in a simple and readable narrative, constituting a small volume of rare excellence of typography, and warmly eulogistic of its subject.

It has been the fate of Williams, beyond that of any other of the founders of New England, to be treated from diametrically opposing points of view, and this contrariety is nowhere more apparent than in the story of the crucial episode of his checkered experience—his banishment from Massachusetts. Though the opposing historians have not always come from the respective States, there has arisen regarding Williams what may be called in general a Massachusetts and a Rhode Island school of interpretation—the one dwelling on the political causes of his banishment, the other representing him as primarily a martyr to freedom of conscience. Mr. Straus belongs to the latter, holding that "the cause of his banishment" lay in his maintenance that the "civil power has no jurisdiction over conscience"; and Mr. Straus finds in this principle the motive of about all that Williams did.

Something of this divided point of view is due to the peculiar combination of qualities in Williams himself—a combination which seems to a modern mind almost a contradiction. Like Robert Browne, whom he in many ways resembled, but who, unlike Williams, became outwardly reconciled to the party he opposed, Williams combined an ultra-Separatist hostility to the Church of England with the doctrine of the non-interference of the civil powers in matters of conscience. On the one hand, Browne and Williams were narrow in their sympathies to a degree which cost them the good-will of the great Puritan party, and which made their ministry everywhere divisive by reason of its opinionativeness; on the other hand, they were in advance of their times in perceiving the proper line of demarcation between Church and State.

From a modern standpoint, or even from the point of view of the discussions over toleration in England after the Westminster Assembly had begun its work, Williams stands forth most conspicuously for his doctrine of "soul-liberty." But it may well be questioned whether that appeared his most conspicuous tenet to the Massachusetts men of 1631–35 who banished him from their jurisdiction. That trait was indeed recognized; but in the speech, quoted by Mr. Straus, in which Gov. Haynes enumerated Williams's offences and spoke his sentence, and of which Williams, who reported it, affirmed, "I acknowledge the particulars were rightly summed up," the limitation of the authority of magistrates to civil affairs is placed last, and Williams's attack upon the patent, upon the oath, and upon the lawfulness of hearing ministers of the Church of England are all given precedence. There is every reason to believe that the Governor's speech represented the case as it lay in the minds of Massachusetts men at the time of Williams's banishment. Their charter was in danger of English attack, they had tried to strengthen their threatened commonwealth by an oath, they were not willing (in general) to regard their English compatriots as in an anti-Christian state; and Williams's opposition to the views of his fellow-countrymen on these points was, to their thinking, fully as dangerous as his doctrine of soul-liberty. It was quite as much, if not more, the cause of his banishment. The chief fault of Mr. Straus's book is that he fails to give due weight to these facts and others like them. He has judged Williams's relations to the men of his age by what posterity finds most valuable in his teaching, rather than by what actually appeared most conspicuous to his contemporaries of 1635. With all his carefulness of biographic detail, Mr. Straus's book produces the impression of a eulogy of an ideal, rather than of a full-rounded picture of the actual, man.

Mr. Straus agrees with Mr. Waters in holding that Williams was a Londoner by birth, but the year of his nativity he would fix as 1607, on the ground that Williams could not have become a scholar of the Charterhouse School, as he did in June, 1621, if over fourteen years of age at that time. To sustain this view, Mr. Straus gives what certainly seems a strained interpretation to Williams's own statements regarding his age; and while his theory may be correct, the query may properly be raised whether the rules of the Charterhouse were so strict as to prevent the admission of a protégé of its powerful benefactor, Sir Edward Coke, even if over the customary age. Certainly he was an exceedingly youthful reporter if the short-hand notes of "Sermons and Speeches in the Star Chamber" which won him Coke's attention were taken before he was fourteen.

Suicide and Insanity: A Physiological and Sociological Study. By S. A. K. Strahan, M.D., Barrister-at-Law. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

UNLESS bound very closely to the world of matter, a man wakeful in the stillness of the night is apt to ponder upon Sleep's elder sister. One listening to the first wail of life has a curious longing to know more of the other world from which the spark of vitality has floated. When a full flame goes out as the new spark kindles, it is a double mystery. Who sees a strong man transformed into insensitive flesh, as in his responsible and responsive capacity he disappears from our association before the point of a dagger, or a few grains of poison, and who watches the helpless and hopeless invalid keep his own flickering ray unextinguished, must ache, if he has any thought, to solve the principles, if there be such, underlying this paradox. What is beyond, and how it comes into relation with us, whether an abyss of gloom, a cloudless realm of happiness, or the negative repose of nirvana, has both attraction and repulsion, like the qualities of electricity, for the incorporeal element that believes itself immortal. But this possible immortality is reached only through the portal of a positive death. May a man from curiosity, from principle, or from despair, lay aside at his own pleasure the mortal robe that at once masks and gives identity to the lighter essence? The robe being drawn aside by necessity, or thrown off by caprice, is the spirit volatilized, or may its individuality be preserved? Does a Higher Power resent the intrusion of the immortal part unsummoned by an agent foreign to itself? Does voluntary departure from this life place the soul in jeopardy? May a man in the full exercise of his reason close upon himself the irrevocable door that shuts out the light of this world? Does not suicide, *ipso facto*, proclaim mental unsoundness? Queries dense as a Norway forest at once receive and bewilder the inquirer who steps out of the beaten path worn by the unreasoning multitude.

Every suicidal act is rational or irrational in its essence. It is begging the question to stamp suicide with the seal of insanity. To soothe the feelings of survivors to whom suicide is equivalent to murder, or because in their eyes life is so precious that its voluntary renunciation is inconceivable, juries of inquest almost invariably append "while temporarily insane" to a verdict of suicide. This may be a relic of the age when self-destruction carried with it spiritual and temporal penalties. It is a nice question how far sound judgment may overcome instinctive love of life, how far that love may be set aside by reason. "The first law of nature" is a phrase, not a fact; or, if a fact, it may receive its justification in its apparent violation. The man who evades the torture of fatal fire by leaping to certain death a hundred feet below, is not called a suicide. Would it be more suicidal to drive a dagger into his own heart as the flames seize his final refuge in the burning tower? Does the white man who uses his last shot to avoid the deadly torture that a savage foe invariably inflicts, commit suicide any more really than in expending that shot to reduce those swarming enemies by one? Abruptness is no necessary element of self-destruction. Is Father Damien giving up his life by a continous surrender to the claims of leprosy; is the martyr who obstinately, or heroically, refuses allegiance to a heterodox doctrine while judicial death lies awaiting his decision; is any saviour of a helpless individual or of a race, who, by a sudden impulse or by deliberate principle, sacrifices himself that others may live, a suicide? That the suicidal act is not literally self-inflicted does not destroy its essential character. He who plots

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against himself so that a friend who believes he is using blank cartridges actually shoots him, is the real actor in the tragedy. The Curtius who leaps into the chasm to save Rome, the rear-guard that by its own destruction allows the main body to escape, the Winkelried who harvests a sheaf of Austrian spears, are virtual suicides; but by all human standards they are heroes.

The motive through which life is relinquished determines the quality of the act. That is to say, the exchange of an individual life for the sake of another or of a principle is not true suicide. It may be a useless sacrifice, but in its essence it has nothing in common with self-destruction where attainment is its own ultimate aim. This true suicide is irrational, and is divided into that where there is distinct insanity, where there is an uncontrollable impulse in that particular direction closely akin to insanity, and where the mental balance is so easily disturbed as to bring this impulse into existence by a shock or a strain. These really are variants of the one condition.

It is to the conditions leading to true suicide that the interesting book before us is chiefly given up. The perfectly sound conclusion is reached that irrational suicide is usually the outcome of mental deterioration which either has been inherited or has been developed by indulgence in vice. This last also frequently means continuous mental as well as moral deterioration; and the cultivation of the unfit by modern society, the breeding into damaged stock, generates offspring more and more impelled to go wrong. The irrational suicide is not necessarily a lunatic in other ways, but his family chain before and after him usually has many ill-forged links. The benevolence of the era, keeping alive the mental and moral cripples that natural selection would eliminate, has much to do with this offence against nature. The moral, the legal, and the sociological aspects of suicide are intelligently discussed in this volume, whose main conclusions are given above.

A Manual of the Study of Documents to establish the individual character of Handwriting and to detect Fraud and Forgery, including several new methods of research. By Persifor Frazer, Docteur ès sciences naturelles, Officier de l'instruction publique (France), Correspondant der k. k. Reichsanstalt zu Wien, etc. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1894. Illustrated.

THIS book is unfortunate in its abbreviated title, 'A Manual of the Study of Documents,' which conveys little idea of the contents. The author says in his introduction that, owing to his "inability to find a less pretentious title for this little work, he has ventured to call it a manual or handbook," and it certainly is a most complete handbook of the subject as set forth in the title-page. It is made more useful than very many of its class by an unusually full index, enabling the reader to refer to the minutest matter upon which he wishes to refresh his memory. Every point bearing upon the detection of forgery appears to be covered, from the character of writing as affected by the position of the arm, to the depth and width of the furrows in the paper made by different pens, and the most minute examination and tests of ink. Methods of detecting erasures made by scraping, rubbing, or washing are enlarged upon; and a chapter devoted to the "Hesitation and Tremor of Feebleness, Illiteracy and Fraud" is well worth careful study. Figures and photographic plates illustrating the points dwelt upon greatly help the text. A chapter "Concerning the Laws relating to the Testimony of Experts on Handwriting" contains an extract from Stephen's 'Law of Evidence,' some decisions, and reference to nearly one hundred others. Incidentally, much information is given in regard to paper, ink, and composite photography, and recording-officers or persons drawing wills or documents intended to be permanent will find valuable information in the few pages devoted to characteristics and the testing of ink. Altogether the book is a most valuable one for all who have to do with mercantile paper or legal documents, and cannot fail to interest any one who desires to extend his general information.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Baker, W. M. The New Timothy. Harpers. 50 cents.
Campbell-Praed, Mrs. Outlaw and Lawmaker. Appletons. $1.
Dostoievsky, F. Poor Folk. London: Mathews & Lane; Boston: Roberts Bros. $1.
François, Gustave. Le Commerce. [La Vie Nationale.] Paris: Léon Chailley.
Gautier, Judith. Iskender. [Bibliothèque de Romans Historiques.] Paris: Colin & Cie.
Hall, J. L. Judas: A Drama. Williamsburg, Va.: H. T. Jones. 50 cents.
Koegel, Prof. Rudolf. Geschichte der Deutschen Litteratur bis zum Ausgange des Mittelalters. Erster Band, Erster Teil. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner.
Lilly, W. S. The Claims of Christianity. Appletons.
Méneval, Baron Claude-François de. Memoirs Illustrating the History of Napoleon I. from 1802 to 1815. Vol. I. Appletons.

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